DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 481 446 SO 035 373

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TITLE	Freedom in Our Lifetime: South Africa's Struggle. [Student Text and] Teacher Resource Book. Choices for the 21st Century.
INSTITUTION	Brown Univ., Providence, RI. Thomas J. Watson, Jr. Inst. for International Studies.
SPONS AGENCY	National Endowment for the Humanities (NFAH), Washington, DC.
ISBN	ISBN-1-891306-60-X
PUB DATE	2003-08-00
NOTE	97p.; Cover title varies.
AVAILABLE FROM	Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University, 111 Thayer Street - Box 1970 Providence, RI 02912 ($15 per teacher/student set). Tel: 401-863-2809; Web site: http://www.watsoninstitute.org/ .
PUB TYPE	Guides - Classroom - Learner (051) -- Guides - Classroom - Teacher (052)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS
DESCRIPTORS	*Apartheid; Colonialism; Developing Nations; Foreign Countries; Higher Education; Instructional Materials; Role Playing; Secondary Education; *Social Change; *World History
IDENTIFIERS	*Afrikaners; Policy Issues; *South Africa

ABSTRACT

This document includes a student text and a teacher resource book. The student text booklet introduces students to precolonial and colonial South Africa and the development of apartheid. Students have the opportunity to evaluate decisions made by anti-apartheid activists and to reflect on South Africa's transition to a post-apartheid society. The booklet is divided into 10 parts: (1) "Introduction: A Negotiated Revolution"; (2) "Part I: Precolonial and Colonial South Africa"; (3) "Part II: Apartheid and Its Opposition"; (4) "The Moment of Decision"; (5) "Options in Brief"; (6) "Options" (Option 1: Continue Nonviolent Struggle with Multi-Racial Support; Option 2: Use Limited, Structured Violence with Communist Party Support; Option 3: Advocate Guerrilla War Tactics for Africans Alone); (7) "Epilogue: Becoming South Africa"; (8) "Chronology of South African History"; (9) "Supplementary Documents"; and (10) "Supplementary Resources". The booklet is part of a continuing series of curriculum resources on international public policy issues. The teacher resource book contains a day-by-day lesson plan and student activities. The suggested lesson plan is divided into 11 sections: (1) "About the Choices Approach"; (2) "Note to Teachers"; (3) "Integrating This Unit into Your Curriculum"; (4) "Day One--Colonial South Africa"; (5) "Day Two--Poetry and Politics"; (6) "Day Three--Role Playing: Organization and Preparation"; (7) "Day Four--Role Playing the Three Options"; (8) "Day Five--Violence as Protest"; (9) "Key Terms"; (10) "Making Choices Work in Your Classroom"; (11) "Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan". (BT)

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Freedom in Our Lifetime: South Africa's Struggle
[Student Text and]
Teacher Resource Book

Choices for the 21st Century

Sarah Cleveland Fox

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Freedom in Our Lifetime: South Africa's Struggle

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THE CHOICES PROGRAM
Explore the Past... Shape the Future
History and Current Issues for the Classroom

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Freedom in Our Lifetime: South Africa's Struggle was developed by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Program with the assistance of the research staff of the Watson Institute for International Studies, scholars at Brown University, and other experts in the field. We wish to thank the following researchers for their invaluable input into this unit.

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James Campbell, *Associate Professor of Africana Studies, Brown University*

Neta C. Crawford, *Associate Professor (Research), Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University*

Nancy Jacobs, *Associate Professor of Africana Studies and Associate Professor of History, Brown Univeristy*

Newell Stultz, *Professor (Research), Watson Institute for International Studies, and Professor Emeritus of Political Science, Brown Univresity*

Special thanks to Paul Cunningham of Woodstock Academy in Woodstock, Connecticut, for his assistance in developing and writing this unit. Thanks also to Jack Zedlitz of Charlotte Latin School in Charlotte, North Carolina, for his input and advice. We also thank Dave Farrar and the teachers in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, who tested a draft of the unit.

Freedom in Our Lifetime: South Africa's Struggle was made possible with a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Freedom in Our Lifetime: South Africa's Struggle is part of a continuing series of curriculum resources on international public policy issues. New units are published each academic year, and all units are updated regularly.

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August 2003

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Thomas J. Biersteker
Director, Watson Institute for International Studies

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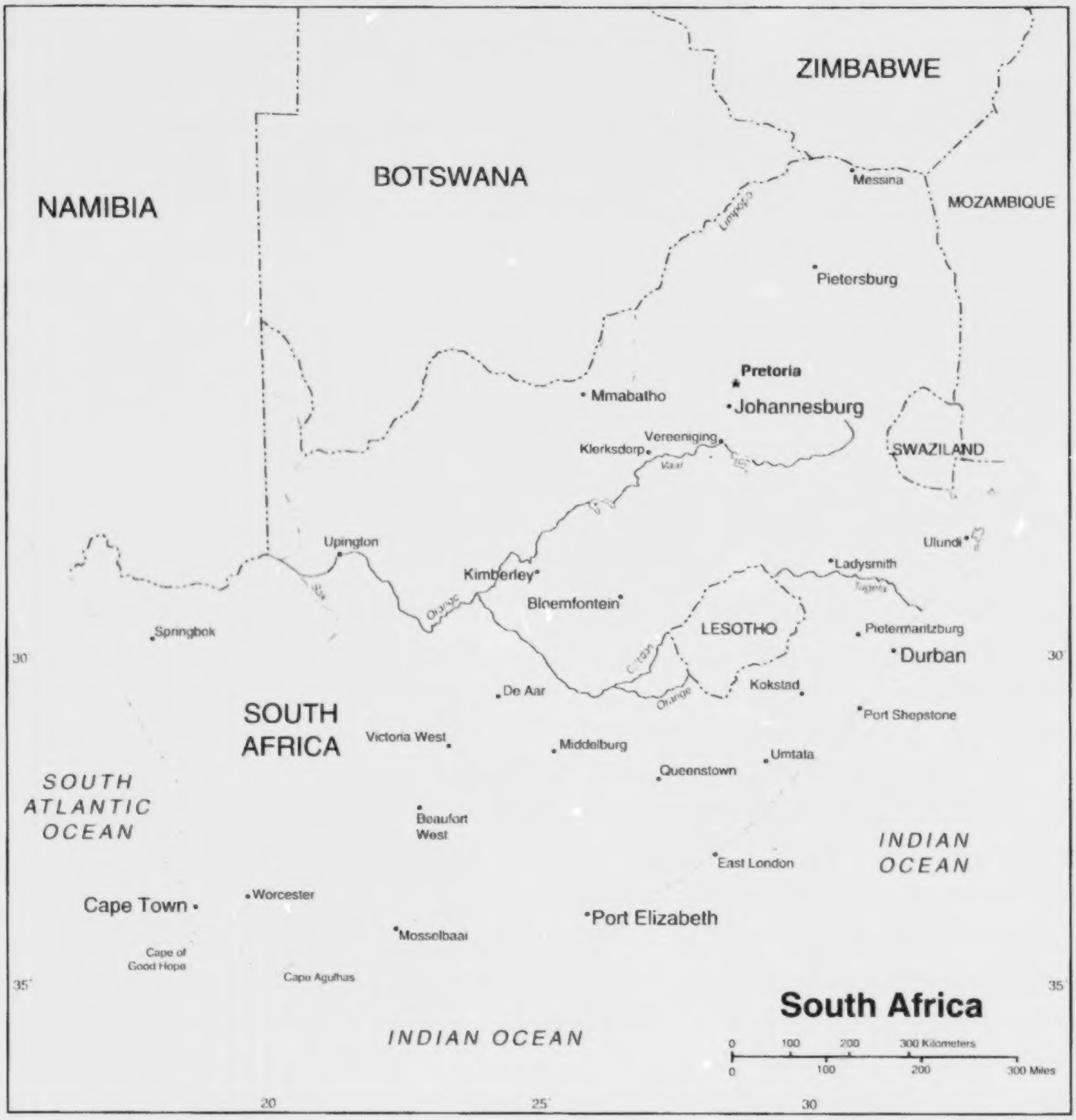
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East London
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Cape Town
Worcester
Port Elizabeth
Mosselbaai
Cape of Good Hope
Cape Agulhas
35°
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South Africa
INDIAN OCEAN
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200
300 Kilometers
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100
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300 Miles
20°
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Note to Students

In this unit references to skin color and ethnic groups roughly follow current South African usage. We will use the terms "black" and "African" to describe people of African descent, "white" to describe people of European descent, "Asian" to describe people of Asian descent, and "coloured" (the British spelling of colored) to describe people of mixed heritage, as is common in South Africa. While in South Africa "black" can refer to blacks, Asians, and coloureds collectively, we will refer to each group specifically so as not to confuse American readers. We will use the modern term "Afrikaner" to describe the ethnic group made up primarily of Dutch descendants, unless the older term "Boer" is historically more appropriate.

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INTRODUCTION: A NEGOTIATED REVOLUTION

In 1994, Nelson Mandela became the first black president of South Africa, following the first truly democratic elections in that country. It was the first time Mandela had been allowed to vote in his seventy-six years. One of the most famous political prisoners of the twentieth century, Mandela spent twenty-seven years in South African prisons for violating the laws of apartheid. His original sentence was life.

What was apartheid?

Apartheid, an Afrikaans word which means "separate" or "apartness" in English, was the law of the land in South Africa from 1948 to 1990. This system of racial discrimination was designed to keep whites, blacks, coloureds, and Asians separate from each other in every way: all schools, housing, jobs, and transportation were segregated. People were often forbidden to speak against the government, blacks were not allowed to vote, and the government could detain people for months and even years without charging them. Some have described apartheid as the most complex system of racial discrimination ever devised by humans.

The apartheid government of South Africa was condemned by the United Nations, by individual countries throughout the world, and by residents of South Africa itself. But it took nearly fifty years of internal and international pressure to remove the apartheid laws from the books and develop a colorblind state.

Through his decades in prison Mandela learned many lessons and had plenty of time to think about how he and others could change the racist system.

> *"We [the prisoners] established a very strong relationship [with the warders] because we adopted a policy of talking to the warders and persuading them to treat us as human beings.... Sit down with a man, if you have prepared your case very well, that man, after he has sat down to talk to you, will never be the same again. [Talking] has been a very powerful weapon."*
>
> *—Nelson Mandela*

This spirit of dialogue ultimately made it possible for South Africa in the 1990s to make the remarkable transition from the repressive rule of a white minority government to the inclusive democracy of the modern "rainbow nation." Many had predicted that a violent civil war would precede the change in government. That did not happen. A member of the new South African Constitutional Court, Albie Sachs, whose right arm was blown off by a car bomb planted by the government in 1988, called the transition a "negotiated revolution."

> *"It wasn't a miracle. It didn't just come to pass. Our transition had been the most willed, thought-about, planned-for event of the late twentieth century....For the doubters, it had been a miracle, while for those with intense belief, it had been entirely rational."*
>
> *—Justice Albie Sachs*

This unit will take you back to a point in time when whites, blacks, coloureds, and Asians in South Africa were debating how to solve the "South Africa Problem." In 1961 leaders of the anti-apartheid movement met to discuss their options. Their comrades were being jailed and killed, the apartheid laws were becoming ever more stringent, and whites were becoming more conservative. Using primary sources such as trial statements, leaflets, declarations, and the text of South African laws, you will delve into questions that changed the course of South African history.

The first reading of this unit traces the early history of South Africa, providing background on the peoples of the region and on the development of a segregated society. Part II explores the responses to apartheid from whites, blacks, coloureds, and Asians in South Africa as well as the international community. You will then be asked to address the questions posed in South Africa in 1961: What options did black, coloured, and Asian South Africans opposing apartheid have in 1961? What was the solution to the apartheid problem?

PART I: PRECOLONIAL AND COLONIAL SOUTH AFRICA

During the apartheid era all residents of South Africa found themselves placed into one of four racial categories: African, Asian, coloured or white. These broad racial categories were then subdivided into more culturally-specific groups: the whites were divided between Afrikaners and English (although few legal distinctions were made between the two groups); the Africans were governed in tribal groups such as Sotho, Swazi, Tswana, Xhosa or Zulu; coloureds consisted of people with mixed-race heritage; and Asians included Indians and Chinese. Asians and coloureds had fewer rights than whites but more than blacks. Prior to apartheid, South Africans did not necessarily see themselves as belonging to one of these distinct groups. To understand the origins of this system of racial classification that formed the foundation of apartheid, and to understand the nature of apartheid itself, it is necessary to explore how the various peoples of South Africa ended up living on the same land.

Who were the first South Africans?

Contrary to myths that would develop later in South African history, most of South Africa was inhabited long before white farmers settled there. The two groups of earliest inhabitants from several thousand years ago, the San and Khoi Khoi, are often referred to as Khoisan by historians because the two groups spoke related languages. The Khoisan were hunter-gatherers and pastoralists who relied on cattle, sheep, and goats and vast grazing lands for survival. They lived in the deserts of the south-west tip of Africa.

Around the third century C.E. cultivation was introduced into South Africa by different groups of people speaking similar groups of languages which fit under the umbrella term "Bantu." These Africans expanded from the east coast of Africa into the southern areas. By the sixteenth century these farmers had occupied nearly all of the land in the eastern half of South Africa, and had developed into several fluid tribal groupings, such as the Zulu and the Xhosa, that would play an important role later in South Africa's history. Political organization within all of these Bantu groups was relatively similar. While farming provided most of their food, the ownership of cattle formed the foundation of political power, and chiefdoms developed out of alliances built through marriages and cattle trading. The precolonial South African region was ethnically diverse and socially complex.

Throughout all of South Africa's early history people of these different groups intermarried, and a clan could change alliance from one chieftaincy to another. Sometimes the groups split apart as well, into two or more sub-groups. Despite this history of loose tribal affiliations, the twentieth century architects of apartheid would label every African as a member of a particular tribe, whether or not that individual thought of himself or herself as a member of that group.

THE ARRIVAL OF OUTSIDERS

In the late fifteenth century, just before Columbus set off for the Americas, Portuguese explorers pushed their way south along the Atlantic coast of Africa, reaching the Cape of Good Hope in 1487. As commerce flowing between Europe and Asia increased, the southern tip of Africa increasingly became of interest to Europeans.

On April 6, 1652, Jan van Riebeeck arrived on behalf of the Dutch East India Company to establish the first permanent European settlement at the Cape of Good Hope. This site became a crucial provisioning stop for trading ships traveling from Europe to India and the Spice Islands beyond. It is the descendants of these early Dutch settlers, reinforced by Protestants arriving from France, Germany and other European countries, who became the modern Afrikaners. Afrikaner means "African" in the Dutch-based language called Afrikaans that developed in the isolated setting of South Africa. The term "Afrikaner" came into widespread use in the twentieth century; until then "Dutch" or "Boer" were more commonly used.

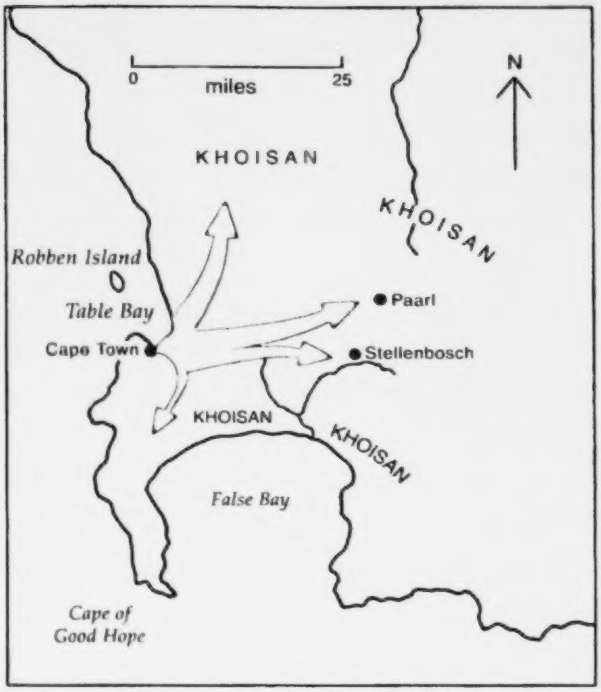
How did the Dutch establish a settlement in Khoisan territory?

The various indigenous groups of South Africans had their first experiences with the settlers at many different times and in several different contexts. Unlike English settlements at Plymouth and Jamestown in North America, the original Cape settlement was not intended to become a full-fledged colony. Instead, the Company ordered Jan van Riebeeck only to barter with the local Khoisan natives for cattle and to grow fruits and vegetables. All nonessential contact with the natives was to be avoided because the trading company feared the costs of settling disputes or administering a colony. The order to avoid conquest, colonization, and employment, however, would soon be forgotten.

Four years after the establishment of the supply station at the Cape of Good Hope, the Company ordered Jan van Riebeeck to cut costs by laying off many of the men he had brought with him. Since these men needed to make a living, he granted each one a twenty-eight-acre farm on grazing land used by the Khoisan. The Khoisan resisted these settlements but were defeated in sporadic battles. The Dutch stole much of their cattle. As a result, some Khoisan entered into agreements as free laborers working for the Dutch, others enjoyed good trade relations with the Dutch, while still others retreated away from European settlements to continue living their traditional lives. The arrival of the Europeans, who brought new diseases and who disrupted the Khoisan economy, eventually caused the Khoisan population to decline significantly.

> *"You [should] always endeavor to live, and trade, in peace with these tribes at the same time and for the same purpose, to penetrate—by parties of volunteers—further and further into the interior."*
>
> *—Jan van Riebeeck's rule #1 for the next governor of the Cape*

Cost-cutting measures and concern for profits encouraged some white settlers to turn to slave labor. Some slaves were Khoisan children who had been captured after their parents were killed in raids and battles. Most slaves—about sixty thousand of them over one hundred and fifty years—came from Madagascar, eastern Africa, western Africa, India, and southeast Asia. The slaves, white settlers, and Khoisan interbred and their descendants became the mixed-race coloured population. Over the years as the Cape Colony's economy grew, whites, like many around the world at the time, began to see slavery as not only economically necessary but natural.



The arrows represent movement of Boers inland in the seventeenth century.

How did whites colonize inland areas?

For the next hundred and fifty years, Boer farmers called trekboers slowly spread out from Cape Town, acquiring land along the way. Beyond the frontiers of the Dutch East India Company's land, they lacked the institutions and rules of an organized government. As they moved further away from the original settlement at Cape Town, they became increasingly removed from communication with the European world while simultaneously having more and more interactions with Africans. It was this lifestyle, an isolated, rugged farming culture that formed the basis of the new Boer, and later Afrikaner, identity. "Boer," in fact, means "farmer."

> *"...We learned to ride, shoot, and swim almost as soon as we could walk, and there was a string of hardy Basuto ponies in the stables, on which we were often away for weeks at a time, riding over the game-covered plains by day, and sleeping under the stars at night....We had no railways, and the noise of the outside world reached us but faintly, so that in our quiet way we were a contented community, isolated hundreds of miles from the seaboard."*
>
> *—Deneys Reitz, Orange Free State Boer, written in 1902*

As the small but growing Afrikaner population spread steadily northward and eastward in the 1760s, they encountered more and more Bantu-speaking peoples. In some cases these interactions were friendly. In most, violence ensued. On the eastern frontier of Boer settlement, increasing competition with Xhosa for farmland and grazing pastures resulted in frequent clashes. Unlike the Khoisan, the Xhosa were more unified and were able to defend their territory more effectively against the advancing Europeans. They outnumbered the settlers, and while they did not have horses or guns, their resistance to the trekboers was largely successful for approximately one hundred years. It was not until after 1811 that the Boer settlers reached eastern South Africa, with the assistance of British troops. From that time on the British burned Xhosa homesteads and grazing lands. The combination of warfare and a deadly cattle disease in the 1850s eventually reduced many Xhosa to poverty.

How did the British take over South Africa?

Following the Napoleonic Wars, the British took over the bankrupt Dutch East India Company and the Cape Colony. In 1806 the British assumed official control, and in 1820 the first large group of English, Scottish, Welsh, and Irish settlers arrived. Unlike the earlier white settlers, these new arrivals did not adopt the Afrikaans language or the Afrikaner culture. Their arrival added more complexity to the ethnic mix of the region. The descendants of these settlers, along with later arrivals who identified with them, came to be labeled as "English" regardless of their national origins. Like the Afrikaners, many of them eventually moved inland to establish farms. The boundaries of the Cape Colony expanded to accommodate this movement.

What was the Mfecane?

The trekboers were not moving to empty land. In fact, many African groups living on that land were undergoing a series of complex changes from the 1810s to 1830s. The Zulu and surrounding groups often competed violently for resources, which had become scarcer as a result of larger populations and drought. Various chiefdoms came under the control of larger groups, sometimes voluntarily for protection from slave raiders from the Cape who began raiding Bantu societies in the early nineteenth century. Weaker groups were sometimes driven off or killed entirely. Groups expanded and consolidated rapidly, and several powerful African military leaders emerged during the time period. The result was the creation of several large African kingdoms with complex political systems.

This upheaval, known as the *Mfecane,* or "time of troubles," has been difficult for historians to interpret. It is still unclear to what extent, exactly, Europeans may have contributed to the disruptions, but some trekboers took advantage of the temporarily available land, and some contributed to the violence.

What was the effect of British rule on the Boers?

The arrival of the English changed the economic system of the Cape. New markets were good for farmers, but when the British abolished slavery in all British colonies in 1834, the Boers lost their cheap labor supply. Additionally, the land in the area was becoming more regulated and expensive, making it difficult for young farmers to seek their fortunes. The British began to develop a political system based on class, rather than race, which prevented Boers without property from participating in the government. Many of the Boers came to resent rule by the British Empire, and they increasingly felt discriminated against. They also resented the fact that the British authorities returned, in 1836, much of the land that had been seized from the Xhosa. The trekboers—now sometimes called Afrikaners—had hoped to make use of this land for themselves.

From about 1836-1850 thousands of Afrikaners migrated north out of what was now the British Cape Colony. The migration became known as the Great Trek, later described as one of the defining moments for Afrikaner identity. The Afrikaners left in small bands and later formed independent republics, the Transvaal and Orange Free State, where they could preserve a society with clear color-based distinctions between master and servant and where the interests of white farmers would come before the claims of the African population. But for some this was more than just an economic and political movement. While most just wanted land, some of the trekboers saw themselves as fulfilling the will of God in a manner they likened to the flight of the Old Testament Israelites from Egypt. The trip was a long, difficult, and often dangerous attempt to seize land from the Africans who lived there.

> *"On the 10th of August we were again attacked....It was a terrible sight to witness. I cannot describe their number, for one would have thought that entire heathendom had gathered together to destroy us. But thanks and praise are due to the Lord...who granted us the victory."*
>
> *—Anna Elizabeth Steenkamp, trekboer*

One battle between the Zulu and Afrikaners, on December 16, 1838, later came to symbolize the Afrikaner movement. The Battle of Blood River was of minor importance to South African history, but generations later, Afrikaners mythologized it, claiming that the group of trekboers had gathered together in prayer asking God to grant them victory over their enemies. In exchange, said later interpreters, these fighters vowed they would build a church to worship God as soon as possible, and commemorate the day as a great anniversary from that day forward. Afrikaners celebrated the supposed covenant and victory until late in the twentieth century, and often used the myth of God's favor to support their claims of superiority.

Why did Asians come to South Africa?

The last major group of outsiders to arrive in South Africa was the Asians, most of whom were Indians. British landowners experienced a labor shortage as they began developing sugarcane plantations in the Natal colony in the mid-nineteenth century. The importation of thousands of workers from the British colony in India provided the ideal solution. From 1860 through 1866, six thousand Indians arrived in Natal as indentured servants, marking the beginning of what became a permanent and highly influential Indian community in South Africa.

THE MINERAL REVOLUTION

In 1867 prospectors in the Afrikaner republics of South Africa discovered the first of several huge diamond deposits. These findings marked the beginning of economic changes that would transform the economy, the politics, and the race relations of South Africa on a scale similar to the Industrial Revolution in the United States. Until that time the British did not want to manage the interior of the country, as such an endeavor required frequent—and expensive—military intervention.

The successful excavation in 1871 of diamonds in Kimberley, and of gold in the 1880s, changed that attitude, and shortly thereafter the British expanded the empire through violent conquest of African societies in order to develop this new industry. Many thousands of African men came to work on the mines, initially as migrant, often skilled workers. Additional thousands developed and staffed new trading routes which grew as a result of the large numbers of people now living in the area. For the first several years, African workers had some control over their decisions about working on the mines.

Over time, however, it became more economical to manage the mines so that labor could be controlled by the owners. "Deep mining," the type required to recover gold, needed thousands of workers and a great deal of capital for machinery. The work was difficult and dangerous. In South Africa the ore was of poor quality. Approximately two tons of mined ore was required to produce three-quarters of an ounce of gold. Mine owners needed low costs to make their mines profitable, and that depended on the cheap labor of Africans. The British began to impose taxes on Africans in order to force them to work on the mines so that they could earn money to pay those taxes. More and more African land was seized—and people were taxed—as more gold and diamond deposits were found.

A wave of unskilled men, faced with fewer choices as a result of land losses and taxation, arrived to work on the mines. Many of the diamond workers were placed in closed compounds so that they could be completely controlled by the mine owners and to prevent theft. Wages for these unskilled workers were insufficient to support a family. A system of migrant labor began, which involved husbands and fathers leaving for eleven months a year while their families stayed in the countryside as farmers.

As a result of the mineral revolution, South Africa quickly evolved from a rural, agricultural state to an urban, industrial nation with the richest gold and diamond mining areas in the world. The city of Johannesburg, surrounded by gold deposits, became the largest city in sub-Saharan Africa.

> *"We do not like our men to go to Johannesburg because they go there to die."*
>
> *—Sotho Chief*

Mining caused a shift in British governance, which in the Cape Colony had emphasized class differences, towards racial segregation. As a result, Africans became poor in ways they had not been before mining began. Additionally, in 1896-97 an epidemic spread through the cattle population, killing 90 percent of the cattle and further destroying the black African societies. Many Africans became dependent on whites for their survival. The Mineral Revolution and the structure of the mining economy laid the foundation for a completely racially segregated society. The Mineral Revolution also exacerbated tensions between the Afrikaner Republics and the British Empire.

What caused the South African War of 1899-1902?

While Afrikaners on the countryside grew wealthy from the gold mining industry in the late

Control of the Mines

After the advent of deep-level mining, which required thousands of workers for extended periods, mine owners instituted a contract system for mine workers which required the African men to work for a certain period of time, usually several months, but often a full year. Deserters—those who returned home before the contract was up or who sought other jobs—could be jailed. Many workers did break their contracts.

In response, mine owners brought the pass system, which had been in place elsewhere, to the mining area. All African men had to carry booklets which indicated their name, address, and for whom they worked. Any man found without a pass, or with a pass that did not indicate current employment, could be detained or forced to work. If a man traveled to a new area and did not find work within three days, he could be deported from that district. In this way mine owners hoped to force Africans to work on the mines, which always needed new laborers.

The compound system on the mines further increased control over black workers. Mine-owners built large barracks to house twenty to thirty men. About three thousand men were confined to each compound for the duration of their contracts. Men slept on concrete bunks over mud floors. Often there were no windows, but usually there was a small wash area in each barrack. A small, unventilated coal fire provided heat. The food provided was often not enough to sustain a worker for the ten-hour shift, and many workers ended up in the hospital as a result of poor conditions. Thousands died each year. The closed compound system succeeded in its purpose: desertion rates declined and costs stayed low.

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Weekly Wages of Diamond Mineworkers at Two Mines

		Kimberley	De Beers	average daily number of workers
1881	white	£5.0-£7.5	no data	1100
	black	£1 15s	no data	5000
1882	white	£5.0-£7.5	£4.6-8.0	1000
	black	£1 10s	£1 5s	6000
1883	white	£5.0-£8.0	£4.5-£8.0	600
	black	£1 10s	£1 10s	3260
1884	white	£4.5-£7.0	£4.5-£6.0	550
	black	£1 5s	£1 5s	3200
1885	white	£4.25-£6.5	£3.75-£6.0	770
	black	£1	£1	3230
1886	white	£5.8-£6.25	£5.6-£6.5	630
	black	£1 5s	£1	4400
1887	white	£4.0-£6.25	£4.75-£6.5	1240
	black	£1 10s	£1 5s	5500
1888	white	£5.0-£6.5	£5.0-£7.0	1040
	black	£1 10s	£1	4500
1889	white	£4.5-£6.25	£5-£6.25	887
	black	£1 10s	£1 10s	4460
1890	white	£4.0-£7.0	£3.5-£7.0	1070
	black	£1 12s	£1 9s	3876

s=shilling. There were 20 shillings in 1 pound.

data from Cape Statistical Registers

1800s, the mines themselves were primarily owned by the British. Concerned that they would lose the chance to control the largest known gold fields in the world, in 1895 the British government demanded political reform in the Afrikaner republic of Transvaal to favor the English people living there and weaken the economic control of Afrikaners. An attempted coup against the Afrikaner leadership further increased the tensions, and within four years the Afrikaners launched attacks against the British.

During the war the British brought five hundred thousand troops to South Africa (Afrikaner troops numbered around forty thousand) and implemented a scorched-earth campaign in order to prevent guerrilla attacks from Afrikaners. Afrikaner women and children were rounded up and placed in concentration camps where twenty-eight thousand died from disease. As a result of their experiences during the war, Afrikaner nationalism began to grow significantly.

How did the war affect Africans?

Historians used to call the conflict the Anglo-Boer War. The name implied that black Africans were not involved. On the contrary, blacks fought with both sides, and many suffered from the scorched-earth and concentration camp policies as well. Thousands of blacks who had worked on Afrikaner farms were rounded up, and additional thousands of African refugees died during the war. Many Africans believed that their support of the British during the war would lead to further political rights after the British defeated the Afrikaners in 1902, but these hopes did not materialize.

The peace treaty at the end of the war guaranteed that the British could continue to employ cheap labor at the mines and that the Afrikaners could maintain internal political control. Africans felt betrayed by this treaty, as many had assisted the British forces in their march toward victory. They had expected more rights as a result.

In 1910 the British colonies and Afrikaner Republics were joined together as the Union of South Africa. While South Africa now enjoyed self-governance, it was still part of the British Empire. All white males could vote, but only some Africans had voting rights, and those were limited. Unification allowed whites to continue increasing their wealth while preventing blacks from doing the same.

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PART II: APARTHEID AND ITS OPPOSITION

Following unification in 1910, the British government passed laws which relegated Africans to the lowest jobs in the mining industry and then made it a criminal offense for blacks to strike. The 1913 Natives' Land Act became the first piece of major legislation creating separate areas for Europeans and Africans by limiting African land ownership to specially-designated Natives' Reserves on 8 percent of the countryside.

These laws built upon each other to form a system of racial segregation in which whites and Africans had little contact with each other. Later, the designers of the apartheid system would draw from these laws in their attempt to further limit rights for Africans, coloureds, and Asians.

How did Africans, coloureds, and Asians respond to these laws?

The black, coloured, and Asian population of South Africa did not readily submit to the continued restrictions. Many participated in tax boycotts, refusing to pay taxes that they felt were unjustly imposed upon them by authorities whom they had no role in choosing. These actions did not succeed in repealing the racist laws, and, in fact, thousands of Africans and coloureds died fighting for more rights.

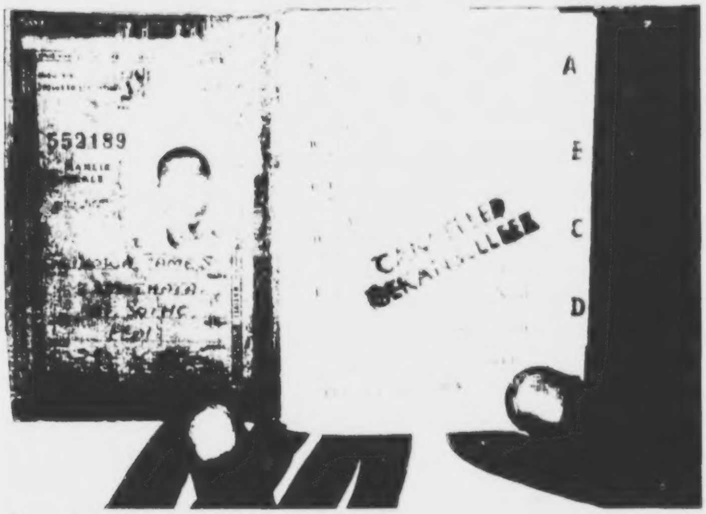
New methods of resistance had to be established to resist these new acts of legislation. In 1912 several hundred mission-educated, conservative African men formed the African National Congress (ANC) to organize Africans and oppose discrimination through petitions and appeals to Great Britain. Recognizing that ethnic rivalries had hampered past attempts at resistance, the ANC declared that "We (the African population) are one people" regardless of ethnic group affiliations.

Having seen the failure of armed resistance in the colonial era, the ANC embraced a policy of passive resistance. While in general the ANC avoided mass mobilization, in 1919 it organized a major nonviolent demonstration against the passbooks that blacks had to carry with them at all times. Mounted police responded by riding over the demonstrators while other officers encouraged nearby white civilians to attack the demonstrators. Several of the protestors died in the violence, but the determination to change the laws lived on.

The ANC initially hoped to gain rights for the black elite. It was not as concerned with the general population and for the most part was ineffective through the 1930s. Trade unions, on the other hand, which became prominent in the 1920s, were more successful in their protests. The Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) was particularly active, organizing strikes throughout the country.

Despite the efforts of these groups, the position of blacks in South Africa did not improve, and, by the end of the 1930s, actually got worse. In 1936 the government repealed the limited voting rights some Africans had, and installed three white representatives to speak for all blacks.

Resistance to white domination was not limited to the African population. Mohandas Gandhi, later called the liberator of India, came to South Africa in 1893 to accept a position in an Indian law firm. Gandhi's experiences as an Indian in South Africa informed his idea of what he should try to accomplish while in South Africa.



A passbook from 1954.

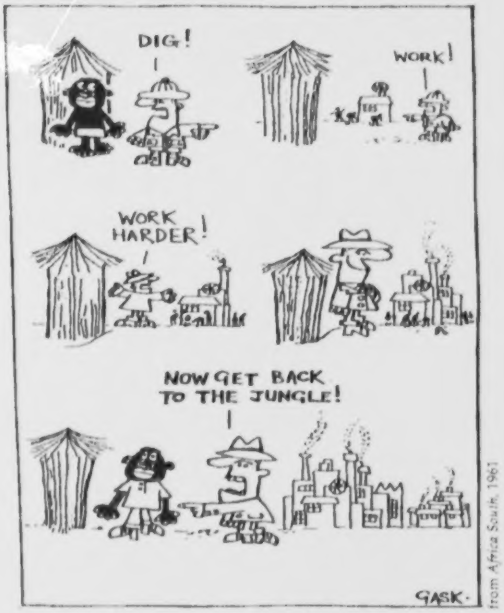
> *"The hardship to which I was subjected was superficial[,] only a symptom of the deep disease of colour prejudice. I should try, if possible, to root out the disease and suffer hardships in the process. Redress for wrongs I should seek only to the extent that it would be necessary for the removal of the colour prejudice."*
>
> *— Mohandas Gandhi*

He formed the Natal Indian Congress (later the South African Indian Congress, or SAIC) to organize Indians to demand basic human, political, and economic rights for the South Asian community. The SAIC was based on Gandhi's idea *satyagraha* ("the struggle for truth") as the root of a non-violent form of resistance against white discrimination. His position as a Hindu led him to believe in mutual tolerance for all peoples and in non-violent resistance. By 1943 the SAIC was actively working to coordinate its efforts with the African and coloured groups—of which Indians formed a part at that time—agitating for more rights.

Why is the election of 1948 seen as so important?

The victory of the National Party in the South African election of 1948 marked the ascent of conservative Afrikaners to political power. Although Afrikaners accounted for the majority of the white population, the politics of South Africa had been dominated by an alliance of British and moderate Afrikaner politicians. Now with a narrow majority in the South African parliament, the conservative Afrikaners would have the opportunity, as they saw it, to set history right by returning to what they believed were the values of their early ancestors, the first Dutch settlers in South Africa and the trekboers of the preceding century. These values included a belief that they were the chosen people of God, responsible for directing humanity and committed to segregation as God's plan.

Many Afrikaners were poor and living in cities. They wanted to be distinguished politically and socially from blacks and wanted job protection. The conservative Afrikaners wasted no time in putting their plans into action.


DIG!
WORK!
WORK HARDER!
NOW GET BACK TO THE JUNGLE!
GASK.

from Africa South, 1961

> *"...The more consistently the policy of apartheid [can] be applied, the greater [will] be the security for the purity of our blood and the surer our unadulterated European racial survival."*
>
> *—Dr. Geoff Cronje, Afrikaner professor, 1945*

What new laws did the National Party implement?

Once in power, the National Party built upon the segregationist past by creating laws which responded to a new, urban society. The two legal cornerstones divided people into different racial categories and then assigned them separate living spaces. The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949) said blacks and whites could not marry each other, and the Population Registration Act (1950) created three official races in South Africa to which all residents would be assigned: white, coloured and African. Both Africans and coloureds were further categorized in an attempt to "divide and conquer." (Asians were subsumed into the coloured category.) Preventing communication among different African groups became a major element of apartheid.

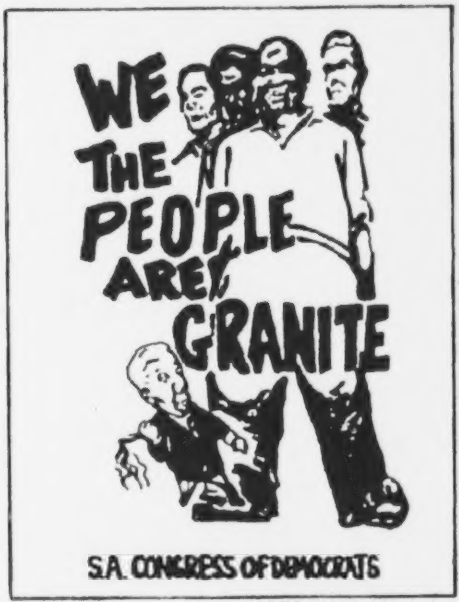
The Group Areas Act (1950) began the process of designating every inch of land in South Africa for one of the three official race groups. Whites held all of the best land and 86 percent of the total land area, despite comprising only about 20 percent of the total population. Blacks were ruled as tribal subjects under chiefs.

Further laws segregated transportation, government buildings, and places of public entertainment. Under the Immorality Acts, whites and other groups could not have sexual relations with each other. In the midst of the Cold War, the 1950 Suppression of Communism Act defined Communism so broadly that any resistance to apartheid policies could be equated with Communism. People could be banned from speaking publicly or meeting together.

> *"'Communism'...includes...any doctrine or scheme...which aims at bringing about any political, industrial, social, or economic change within the Union by the promotion of disturbance or disorder."*
>
> *— The Suppression of Communism Act*

Additionally, most schools for blacks came under the control of the government. New rules required that Afrikaans be used in half the classes (English was the language of instruction in the other half) and that textbooks be concerned only with the white experience in South Africa. In these schools only the basics required to work in low-paying unskilled jobs were taught. Apartheid was, at root, an economic system designed to keep coloureds, Asians, and blacks in particular, in servile roles while whites benefited from the low-cost labor.

> *"Equality with Europeans is not for them.... What is the use of teaching a Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice?"*
>
> *—Hendrick Verwoerd, Prime Minister*



1950s protest poster.

reproduced with permission from *Images of Defiance*

What effect did these new laws have on blacks, coloureds, and Asians?

The Group Areas Act forced blacks who lived in urban areas to live in areas called townships. They commuted to jobs in white areas as gardeners, domestic servants, and factory workers. In the townships most families lived in homes of just two-to-three rooms, often without electricity, running water, or sewerage service. Many Africans living in the countryside had to migrate to the cities or mines to find work as the land on the reserves was often not suitable for farming. At the same time, in order to further divide African ethnic groups from each other and to separate whites and blacks more completely, the government forced many Africans not employed by whites to move from the townships to the country. Millions of people were reassigned to new areas.

How did opponents respond to apartheid?

Some Africans in South Africa hoped to rid the country of all whites. Other radicals wanted more forceful actions but did not propose expelling all whites. These radicals, often young people, were frustrated by their lack of free mobility, the difficulty of finding jobs, and the poor schooling available to blacks. In 1944 young radicals within the African National Congress had founded the Congress Youth League to encourage the ANC to adopt a more confrontational stance and to use mass action to achieve their goals.

"We of the Youth League take account of the concrete situation in South Africa, and realize that the different racial groups have come to stay. But we insist that a condition of inter-racial peace and progress is the abandonment of white domination."

—ANC Youth League Basic Policy Statement

The Youth League did convince leaders that mass protests were essential to their goals, and the ANC took the official position that all races had a stake in the future of South Africa. Beginning in the late 1940s, the ANC used non-violent tactics such as boycotts and strikes. After pressure from the Youth League, the ANC collaborated with other anti-apartheid groups like the SAIC. Before this time, the ANC had been asking for gradual change without specifying a clear goal. The SAIC had more experience with mass action.

What happened once the various anti-apartheid groups of South Africa began cooperating?

The ANC and SAIC's shift to civil disobedience opened up new forms of protest. Each group wrote letters to the government demanding the repeal of unjust laws. When those letters received no response, further action was planned. The ANC and SAIC saw this as a last chance for the government to change its policies before they, along with the Franchise Action Council (a coloured group), launched the Defiance Campaign in 1952. Nelson Mandela, the future president of the ANC, made a name for himself as the national volunteer-in-chief of this campaign.

The specific target of the Defiance Campaign was the deceptively-named Natives Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act, which actually increased the amount of information—fingerprints, employment statistics, and the like—required on passbooks. Inspired to a large extent by Gandhi's philosophy of *satyagraha*, the intention was to fill the courts and prisons with people arrested on pass offenses, thereby overloading the system. Over the five months of the campaign, eight thousand offenders were arrested and imprisoned for one to three weeks. The remarkable self-discipline of the peaceful participants of the Defiance Campaign made it difficult for the government to justify a strong show of force against the protesters and drew increasing support toward the cause. The campaign ended after a series of government-provoked riots killed twenty-six Africans and six whites.

While opponents had failed to force repeal of the pass laws, the campaign did succeed in some ways. The ANC was now seen by supporters and opponents alike as a mass movement commanding widespread popular support. Perhaps most importantly, the opponents of apartheid had proven that together they could be more effective than they could be working independently. Additional opposition groups, such as those for coloureds, whites, and Communists of all races, began to join forces with the ANC. These groups produced newspapers and magazines to communicate effectively and to further their cause.

How did the government try to counter this rising resistance?

The government of South Africa faced a rising tide of resistance intent on ending apartheid. Some commentators noted that ideas of racial tolerance seemed to be growing in the white community. The leaders of the National Party saw that development as a threat, not an opportunity. To shore up the power of the apartheid system, two major pieces of legislation were passed in the year following the Defiance Campaign.

The Criminal Law Amendment Act instituted high fines and up to three years in prison or flogging for violation of any law in protest against the government. In other words, even if the normal punishment for a particular violation was fewer than three years, if the intent of the law-breaker was to protest the existence of the law, then the fines were higher and time in prison could be longer. The government hoped to make the mass non-compliance strategy of the Defiance Campaign so costly for any future violators that they would be deterred from attempting such actions.

The Public Safety Act provided the framework for declaring states of emergency by the government and delineated the process by which the police could

Equal work For Equal Pay
Free Education
Down with Bantu Education
We want Better
Freedom of Speech

UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives

Protestors gather at the Congress of the People in 1955.

assume emergency powers. Just as the Defiance Campaign taught the opponents of apartheid many lessons about how to organize themselves, the government analyzed its own response and attempted to fix any holes in the system. The government had learned that many apartheid practices did not stand up to legal challenges because there were no laws to support certain practices. Rather than ending the practices, new laws were passed. The cyclical nature of resistance followed by new laws followed by additional resistance consumed both sides.

What was the Freedom Charter?

The Defiance Campaign had raised the awareness of people of all races about the problems created by apartheid. In 1954 the ANC took the lead in forming the Congress Alliance to use the momentum to take the campaign against apartheid a step further. The ANC was acknowledged by all as the leading member of the Alliance. The South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured Peoples Organization, the South African Congress of Trade Unions, and a white, largely Communist group, the Congress of Democrats, all worked alongside ANC leaders to present a united front against the apartheid government.

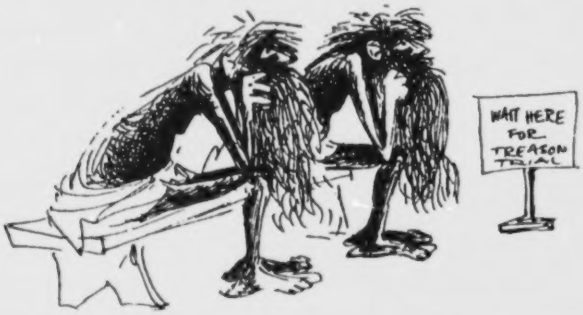
The first significant action of the Congress Alliance called for the convening of a Congress of the People. The member organizations of the Congress Alliance sent out volunteers to collect ideas from the general population to be included in the Freedom Charter, a document that would express the thinking of the Congress of the People about how South Africa must move forward to a non-racial future.

The Congress of the People, attended by 3000 delegates, including 320 Indians, 230 coloureds and 112 whites, was a two-day long, open-air meeting in Kliptown, a coloured township near Johannesburg. The centerpiece of the Congress was the approval of the Freedom Charter drafted by committee after synthesizing the feedback gathered from the people of South Africa. On the second day of the Congress, the police arrived. While police took photos of the scene, searched delegates and confiscated documents, the work of the Congress of the People continued defiantly until the Freedom Charter had been approved article by article.

> *"It is a revolutionary document precisely because the changes it envisages cannot be won without breaking up the economic and political set-up of present South Africa."*
>
> *—Nelson Mandela*

How did the government react to this latest challenge?

Soon after the Congress of the People finished its work, police began conducting raids and trying to break up the activities of the members of the Congress Alliance. In December 1956 police arrested 156 people on charges of high treason. Among the arrested were Nelson Mandela, Chief Albert Luthuli (the president


WAIT HERE FOR TREASON TRIAL

from *Africa South*, 1961

of the ANC), and Yusuf Cachalia and Ahmed Kathrada of the SAIC. The defendants in what came to be known as the Treason Trial included people of all races, including twenty-three whites. Most of the whites were Jewish Communists. The entire leadership of the Congress Alliance found itself enmeshed in endless legal proceedings and under government bans that prevented them from speaking publicly to their supporters.

The government claimed that the 156 people arrested were involved in a countrywide conspiracy to use violence to overthrow the present government and replace it with a Communist government. If found guilty, the defendants could face the death penalty.

How did the Treason Trial change the anti-apartheid movement?

The trial would stretch on for over four years. The legal preparations for the trial gave leaders of the various anti-apartheid organizations enormous amounts of time to plan strategies and to develop a strong sense of camaraderie. Many of these leaders had been isolated from each other for years by government banning orders. Now they all benefited from extensive daily contacts as they prepared their defense and met during court recesses. The Congress Alliance leadership emerged at the conclusion of the trial with greater political solidarity and sophistication.

TREASON TRIAL
The ACCUSED
DECEMBER 1956

UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives

While the trial testimony unfolded, events outside the courtroom showed that opponents of apartheid would not be intimidated by the Treason Trial. The Alexandra bus boycott of 1957 demonstrated the power of the people united together against the system. When the bus company proposed a modest increase in bus fares, residents of this Johannesburg township refused to ride the busses. Instead many walked or rode bicycles up to twenty miles to their jobs in white-owned businesses. As worker productivity fell and a general strike seemed imminent, the government finally forced businesses to subsidize bus transport, thereby avoiding the fare increase. It was not sympathy for the black workers that led to this result, but rather the fact that the profits of white businesses were at stake. Nevertheless, the Africans learned an important political lesson: they could in fact win concessions if they united to act in a way that threatened the profitability of the white economy.

Independent of peaceful protests organized by the ANC or other members of the Congress Alliance, spontaneous protests against apartheid developed in various rural areas of South Africa throughout the late 1950s. In many places these revolts turned violent, sometimes even causing the government to bring in armored units and airplanes to crush protests in which firearms were used.

In an attempt to slow the building momentum against apartheid, in June 1959 the government enacted the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act. Another deceptively named law, this established eight black homelands, or Bantustans, one for each of these tribal groups: North Sotho, South Sotho, Swazi, Tsanga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa, and Zulu. All blacks were to be given citizenship in one of these homelands, though none allowed for full democratic participation by its members. This practice of "separate development," in which groups were physically divided, persisted until the end of apartheid.

Now that the government defined all Africans as belonging to one of these eight tribal groups, blacks were, in the official view, no longer a majority in South Africa. The government eliminated the three white representatives who had been appointed to speak for Africans' interests in Parliament since, in theory, Africans were now represented through their homelands. The national government began creating puppet regimes for each of the homelands as a way of showing the outside world that white South Africa was actually promoting democracy for the Africans. Another goal was to encourage blacks to view their political destiny as residing in the homeland structure, not in South Africa as a whole. Most Africans rejected these homeland governments as agents of collaboration with the National Party.

In the end, the government failed to prove at the Treason Trial that the Freedom Charter was a Communist document, or that the Congress Alliance was a Communist organization. Although the Defiance Campaign and the Freedom Charter had failed to eliminate apartheid, all the accused were acquitted. They could continue their protests.

Why did the PAC challenge the ANC?

Some Africans felt the protests up to this point had failed because they believed the ANC was pandering to whites and losing its focus. Additionally, as many of the ANC leaders had been in jail during the Treason Trial, they felt the ANC had not accomplished anything for four years. The young radicals split from the ANC to form the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). Led by the charismatic Robert Sobukwe, the PAC distinguished itself through the promotion of an idea of African Nationalism, or "Africanism." This philosophy emphasized the importance of the unity of the various African peoples of South Africa, but rejected the multi-racial approach of the ANC. Sobukwe and others argued that whites (particularly Communists) and Indians involved in the activities of the Congress Alliance had called too many of the shots. The PAC also believed that the ANC was an elitist organization that failed to tap into black dissatisfaction, which the PAC thought would lead to the revolution they sought.

The PAC, seeing itself as part of the anti-colonial movement then sweeping Africa, defined its goal as "government of the Africans, for the Africans, by the Africans."

> *"The African people of South Africa recognize themselves as part of one African nation, stretching from Cape to Cairo, Madagascar to Morocco, and pledge themselves to strive and work ceaselessly to find organized expression for this nation in a merger of free independent African states into a United States of Africa."*
>
> *—PAC founding manifesto*

The PAC stated that the Freedom Charter represented the betrayal of the African people by their leaders, and specifically rejected the Charter's statement that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it black and white."

The PAC also suggested that the pacifist activities of the Congress Alliance up to this point had not placed enough pressure on the white government, and instead called for more aggressive and confrontational actions. For the time being, Sobukwe suggested that the fledgling PAC organization must contain itself to non-violent actions. While the ANC and the Congress Alliance endorsed non-violence as a basic moral principle, the PAC saw non-violent action as simply a tool to be used during this particular stage of the struggle. The PAC intended to bring about a "mental revolution" among Africans to help them lose their "slave mentality" through a status campaign in which Africans demanded respect from white employers and white shop owners.

> *"We are not anti-white...We do not hate the European because he is white! We hate him because he is an oppressor. And it is plain dishonesty to say I hate the sjambok [whip] and not the one who wields it."*
>
> *—Robert Sobukwe*

While President Sobukwe was careful to distinguish between hatred of whites and hatred of white oppression, many PAC supporters made no such distinctions. A majority of PAC members hoped to expel whites from South Africa entirely.

How did the ANC and the PAC approach protests differently?

The ANC responded to this new organization by labeling the PAC's policies as a form of black racism. ANC leaders suggested that the PAC was more interested in how African workers were addressed than in how well they were paid. The ANC equated the Africanism of the PAC with the racist doctrines of the Afrikaners. Nevertheless, the PAC enjoyed great success in recruiting supporters, especially among disillusioned youth who wanted to see immediate changes.

While PAC President Sobukwe's past words had called for dramatic confrontations with the apartheid state, the realist in him recognized that the bulk of the African population was not yet ready for such action. Instead, the PAC settled on a plan for a pass protest that would immediately involve more people than had the Congress Alliance's Defiance Campaign. PAC leaders hoped this would be the first of many actions in the "mental revolution" freeing South Africans from their "slave mentality." Unlike the ANC, which focused on meticulously planned and carefully orchestrated protests involving highly disciplined trained volunteers, the PAC placed greater value on individual spontaneity and the involvement of average citizens.

> *"All that we [the leaders] are required to do is to show the light and the masses will find the way."*
> —*Robert Sobukwe*

PAC volunteers fanned out across South Africa to recruit volunteers who would present themselves at police stations without their passes and demand to be arrested. It proved easy to find volunteers among Africans living in an environment of rising rents, continuing forced relocations from old settlements, falling standards of living, decreased educational opportunities, rising unemployment, and the humiliations of repeated police raids.

Sobukwe sent a letter to the police commissioner informing him that PAC supporters in large numbers would surrender themselves for arrest on March 21, 1960. He went on to explain that the protestors were under strict orders to avoid the use of violence and, if given adequate time, would respond to any police orders to disperse.

UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives

Sharpeville protestors flee the area as police look on.

What happened at Sharpeville?

At Sharpeville, a township south of Johannesburg, the morning was characterized by a series of small clashes between police and protestors. The protestors were armed, at most, with stones, but in one incident police fired shots over the heads of protestors outside the municipal buildings, injuring at least half a dozen and killing two. The protestors, however, did not respond violently.

Tensions in Sharpeville mounted as the day went on. A crowd estimated at about five thousand (including large numbers of children) gathered outside the police station. The trouble began when a policeman was pushed over near the entrance to the police compound. As the curious crowd surged forward against the fence to see what had happened, the police opened fire. No orders were given to disperse and no warning shots were fired. As the crowd turned to flee, police continued firing into the backs of fleeing protesters. By the time the firing ended, 69 Africans lay dead and 186 were wounded. Forty women and eight children were among the wounded.

JUNE 1961: THE MOMENT OF DECISION

Immediately after the Sharpeville Massacre, the PAC called for workers to stay home. Government forces repeatedly barged into workers' homes to force them to report to their jobs. Not surprisingly, more protests followed such tactics. For instance, thirty thousand PAC protestors descended on Cape Town's parliament building in a challenge much more threatening than the ANC had been up to that point.

On March 28th, Chief Albert Luthuli, the president of the ANC, called for a day of mourning and the start of a stay-at-home campaign. Thousands of ANC supporters also publicly burned their passbooks in the following days. The stay-at-home campaign continued for three weeks in the Cape Town area, bringing business and industry virtually to a standstill.

Many of the recently independent African governments quickly condemned the South African regime. More surprisingly, the United States and Britain, traditionally two of South Africa's staunchest economic allies, sharply criticized the government's tactics and followed that with strongly worded attacks on the apartheid system in the General Assembly of the United Nations. Calls began to mount for the imposition of sanctions against South Africa.

> *"[We call upon] the government of the Union of South Africa to initiate measures aimed at bringing about racial harmony based on equality in order to ensure that the present situation does not continue or recur, and to abandon its policies of apartheid and racial discrimination."*
> *—UN Security Council Resolution 134*

International investors quickly pulled money out of the South African economy. Many white South Africans followed suit and moved some of their own money into accounts in other countries.

How did the government react to the tension?

After Sharpeville, Prime Minister Hendrick Verwoerd called a State of Emergency, giving police and other forces additional powers to deal with any signs of unrest. Both the ANC and the PAC were banned, as were many of the leaders, so members could not communicate with each other legally. Within the first five weeks of the passage of this new act, over eighteen thousand people were detained. The South African government, defying international pressure, finalized the lengthy process of becoming a republic, which led to its withdrawal from the British Commonwealth, an organization of Great Britain and her former colonies. Whites had voted to become a republic, showing greater support for the National Party government in 1960 than they had in the 1948 election. Whites were becoming more conservative, not less. Many blacks, coloureds, and Asians saw the withdrawal from the moderating influence of the Commonwealth as a major blow to their efforts at peaceful resolution.

Over the next year the ANC, the PAC, and other anti-apartheid groups organized more protests from underground. Members met clandestinely, often disguising themselves in order to travel from place to place. Leaders of the groups sent letters to the government requesting a national convention to resolve the problems of the country. Those requests were ignored, and police raids continued.

During another stay-at-home campaign in May 1961, the government mounted its biggest military mobilization since World War II to try to intimidate African workers into ignoring the campaign. The government feared that violence similar to anti-colonial protests in Kenya and Algeria would take place in South Africa. White civilians received rifles and handguns to protect themselves in anticipation of violence, despite the clearly pacifist nature of the protest.

Feeling as though the government had rejected all attempts at rational dialogue, the opponents of apartheid began to consider their options. For the following month leaders of the anti-apartheid groups met in secret, usually at night, to evaluate their past effectiveness and discuss how best to approach the future. How should each of the different organizations respond to the current situation? What steps should they now take to eliminate apartheid?

OPTIONS IN BRIEF

OPTION 1 — CONTINUE NON-VIOLENT STRUGGLE WITH MULTI-RACIAL SUPPORT

Non-violence has been the core principle of our beliefs in the struggle against apartheid. To abandon that principle at this crucial point would be to show the world and our people that we have given up, that we no longer have the courage to stand up for our beliefs. We have seen the positive effects of passive resistance in India, and we can have the same effect here in South Africa. The eventual reconciliation with whites and the establishment of democracy requires that we use only passive means to resist. We must stay the course and remember that it is the stronger man who makes his beliefs known through non-violent means.

OPTION 2 — USE LIMITED, STRUCTURED VIOLENCE WITH COMMUNIST PARTY SUPPORT

Despite repeated attempts to engage the government in talks, we have been turned down. The government will not allow us to fight peacefully any more, and has blocked all our legal acts by making them illegal. It is time to join with the South African Communist Party, which can provide financial backing and which adheres to the ideology of a small, leading group as the vanguard of the struggle. Structured, organized, limited sabotage of the workings of the white government will demonstrate our power, reduce the regime's effectiveness, and show the international community that we are dedicated to preventing deaths. Our people cannot have died in vain.

OPTION 3 — ADVOCATE GUERRILLA WAR TACTICS FOR AFRICANS ALONE

This is a violent regime that only understands violence. We must speak its language. In our non-violent struggle we have posed no threat. We have simply offered ourselves up to be shot. But we can instill fear in the whites, and then they will give up their power. We, Africans alone, must eliminate the forces that are standing in the way of our own power. The only way to do that is to take power away from the whites. Random, spontaneous attacks on police and other white people will get attention. Only guerrilla warfare will win us our country back. We are ready for a revolution.

Option 1 CONTINUE NON-VIOLENT STRUGGLE WITH MULTI-RACIAL SUPPORT

Non-violence is a core principle of our beliefs in the struggle against the government. Only strong people can look threats in the eye and not retaliate violently. Non-violence takes more courage than violence, and we have been demonstrating to the world our courage and our resolve. To abandon that principle at this crucial point would be to show the world and our people that we have given up, that we no longer have the courage to stand up for our beliefs. Non-violence has not failed us, and we must continue to use it as a most powerful weapon in our fight for freedom.

We must take up the banner with renewed energy and unity. Only non-violent resistance can unite the people against the State. We have seen the positive effects of passive resistance in India, and we can have the same effect here in South Africa. Gandhi's influence here and in India shows that his principles of *satyagraha* work. When people are united against a common enemy, and when they support one another, change happens. It is the people who defeat the armies.

We have many forms of protest at our disposal under the umbrella of non-violent resistance. Economic boycotts of South African goods, both here and abroad, may yet work to bring down the government. We can boycott shops here. Look what we gained from the Alexandra bus boycott! Our numbers and our strength enabled us to get what we wanted. By using only passive resistance we will retain support from other groups, including whites, and will benefit from their financial support and their numbers. The eventual reconciliation with whites and the establishment of democracy requires that we use only passive means to resist. Any other method is sure to invoke bitterness and hatred.

Resorting to violence has many problems. To launch a violent campaign will surely open us to further reprisals from the government and will only result in more deaths. Violence breeds violence; we would only be adding to the cycle.

We must stay the course and remember that it is the stronger man who makes his beliefs known through non-violent means. We are stronger than the government. We will prevail.

BELIEFS AND ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING OPTION 1

1. Non-violence has been the guiding principle of our fight against apartheid. It is a central element of our struggle.
2. Non-violence is the only morally acceptable way to respond to oppression. Vengeful action only breeds more violence.
3. Non-violent protest is supported by outsiders who champion our cause in other nations; violence is not.

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS FOR OPTION 1

1. Resorting to violence will lead to future racial tensions and bitterness. We want to create a peaceful, multiracial society.
2. Chief Luthuli's position of non-violence is well respected outside of South Africa. Our success depends on support from the UN and member states.
3. Nonviolence has proven its effectiveness in other situations, such as the independence of India from Great Britain.

FROM THE HISTORICAL RECORD

Mohandas Gandhi, 1928
"My point is that I can definitely assert that in planning the Indian movement there never was the slightest thought given to the possibility or otherwise of offering armed resistance. *Satyagraha* is soul force pure and simple, and whenever and to whatever extent there is room for the use of arms or physical force or brute force, there and to that extent is there so much less possibility for soul force. These are purely antagonistic forces in my view, and I had full realisation of this antagonism even at the time of the advent of *Satyagraha*."

Chief Luthuli, Presidential Address to annual conference of ANC, December 1959
"It is unfortunate for the government to incite people to violence. This could be the effect of pronouncements like the one recently made by the Minister of Defence, Mr. Erasmus, when he said that preparations are in progress to place units of the defence force at several strategic areas in order 'to have the army ready to assist the civil authorities in case of internal uprisings.' Notwithstanding all this, I counsel the oppressed to brace up and prepare themselves to meet this threat to our existence as a people by exploring to the full the possibilities of non-violent methods of struggle. This is the suggestion in our interest. One is not guided by pacifist considerations, but by practical considerations that led [the African National] Congress in 1949 to decide to prosecute on this basis its militant struggle for liberty. Protest demonstrations, defiance campaigns, stay-at-homes of limited duration are very necessary warming up process to train people for more exacting forms of non-violence....We are a giant that does not know its strength. When white oppressors impress people with their military might and knowledge we should show the people that it is because the white men fear us that they have curbed our advance by apartheid laws."

Chief Luthuli, June 1959
"We are not without power. Along the non-violent path, we can effectively harness our buying strength and our labour potential to defeat our enemy if we do so in the spirit of unity and determination."

Robert Sobukwe, March 20, 1960
"I say quite POSITIVELY, without fear of contradiction, that the only people who will benefit from violence are the government and the police....We are not leading corpses to the new Africa."

ANC statement, April 1, 1960
"...We wish to make it very clear that we have chosen the path of non-violent struggle not out of weakness and cowardice but because we are confident of the victory of our cause, and do not wish to see the country dragged through bloody upheavals which may leave a legacy of bitterness for generations to come."

M.B. Yengwa, ANC leader, 1960
"The point is that we cannot exclude a bloody revolution in South Africa, but it would never be the African National Congress that would embark on a bloody revolution."

Molvi Cachalia, SAIC leader, June 1960
"As far as the policy of the Congresses is concerned we believe that the method which we employ is more important than the aim itself... We have specifically accepted and abided by the policy of non-violence, so that whatever we achieve through negotiation—altering the laws through Parliament, through the Government and so on—will be based on the democratic system. Violence would certainly destroy all that and that is not permissible at all as far as our organisation is concerned."

Molvi Cachalia, June 1960
"As far as the people who are engaging in the struggle and people who follow the struggle, they will never use violence, and will never approve any violence whatsoever."

Molvi Cachalia, Treason Trial testimony, June 1960

"Q: Is it always possible in your view, as happened in this case, as a result of the action of the authorities, that a purely peaceful demonstration can turn into violence? In your view, does the possibility always exist that as a result of the action of the police authorities, a peaceful demonstration can turn into violence or can turn into a bloodbath?

A: If the demonstrations are organised by the organisation which is leading the movement, their volunteers or their followers will not indulge in violence, but there is always a possibility that something might go wrong, police might shoot, or some other elements would come and do things. There is always the possibility of violence.

Q: What would the duties of passive resisters be under these circumstances?

A: Even if they are attacked or even if violence occurred from any other side, their duty will be not to fight back, and not to take part in the violence."

President of the Indian Natal Congress, March 1961

"We believe in peaceful and non-violent solutions both to international problems and to problems within the border of one's own country....We believe in a democratic South Africa for all South Africans—white and non-white—and we believe it is possible to achieve that objective by peaceful and non-violent means."

Chief Luthuli

"There is still enough goodwill among non-whites to avoid a bloody struggle being a sine qua non [an essential part of the struggle] to Freedom. "

Option 2 USE LIMITED, STRUCTURED VIOLENCE WITH COMMUNIST PARTY SUPPORT

We must begin to fight more forcefully for our freedom from this repressive regime. Despite repeated attempts to engage the government in talks, we have been turned down. Our organizations have been banned. Our people, protesting peacefully, have been shot at. The people are restless and are becoming disillusioned. We are in danger of losing our country entirely. Fifty years of non-violent struggle has brought our country nothing but more and more repressive legislation. The government will not allow us to fight peacefully any more, and has blocked all our legal acts by making them illegal.

Rural people are already creating military organizations on their own, without central leadership. If we want to avert a civil war, in which we would surely be defeated in bloody struggle, we must organize the people and provide discipline. Structured, organized, limited sabotage of the workings of the white government will demonstrate our power, reduce the regime's effectiveness, and show the international community that we are dedicated to preventing casualties. We must show our people that we are strong, resolute, and able to overcome this adversity. We will be giving hope, instead of sitting on our hands waiting for the next blow from the government.

It is time to join with the South African Communist Party, which can provide financial backing and which adheres to the ideology of a small, leading group as the vanguard of the struggle. A cadre of trained fighters will bring about the revolution we seek. Mass action has not been successful, and it is time to try other means. Sabotage does not involve loss of life, and it offers the best hope for future race relations. Bitterness will be kept to a minimum and if the policy bears fruit, democratic government could become a reality. We are committed to creating a non-racialist country. Attacking only government buildings and economically important infrastructures such as power stations will limit the government's ability to function, but it will not kill people. We must not descend into a race war.

Non-violence is a tactic that must be abandoned when it no longer works. That time has come. Sharpeville demonstrated the will of the government to crush our peaceful protests. Our people cannot have died in vain while we continue to wait for an opportunity to put more of them in harm's way. Such inaction is immoral. We owe it to them to fight.

BELIEFS AND ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING OPTION 2

1. It is immoral to subject our people to continued violence from the government while forbidding them from defending themselves.
2. African people are becoming frustrated with the slow pace of reform and many are resorting to undisciplined violence, acts which will surely lead to a civil war.
3. Revolution is only possible through the use of a small group of trained, militant insurrectionists.

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS FOR OPTION 2

1. Deliberate, limited attacks will weaken the apartheid system without polarizing the races.
2. Our people will feel renewed and strong if we engage in sabotage, and they will be more dedicated to the cause.
3. The avoidance of casualties will provide the greatest possibility for reconciliation in the future.

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FROM THE HISTORICAL RECORD

Nelson Mandela, address to the ANC, 1953

"But gone forever are the days when harsh and wicked laws provided the oppressors with years of peace and quiet. The racial policies of the Government have pricked the conscience of all men of good will and have aroused their deepest indignation. The feelings of the oppressed people have never been more bitter. If the ruling circles seek to maintain their position by such inhuman methods then a clash between the forces of freedom and those of reaction is certain. The grave plight of the people compels them to resist to the death the stinking policies of the gangsters that rule our country.... Action has become the language of the day."

Oliver Tambo, letter to the ANC leadership, 1955

"...In the final analysis, the situation in South Africa today is such that alternative modes of struggle have been reduced and we are daily being reduced to the barest minimum, and we shall not wait long for the day when only one method will be left to the oppressed people of this country...."

"Black Savage" in The Africanist, *January 1956*

"...The times call for cold calculation and timing and yield little place for the ungoverned emotions. We cannot afford to be irresponsible in word or action...."

ANC National Executive, 1958

"...When a spontaneous movement takes place the duty of leadership is not just to follow spontaneously but to give it proper direction."

Robert Resha, ANC leader, December 1958

"It is...significant that the leaders who are being accused of having sold out [the African National] Congress to Europeans and Indians, are tried and tested leaders who suffered imprisonment, bannings, and banishments. Surely, such men...can only be thought of as being stooges by people who are either deliberately malicious or completely naive."

Robert Resha, Treason Trial testimony, 1960

"My Lords, when I think of the brutal methods used by the government in imposing inhuman policy on my people, I sometimes have grave doubts about the policy of non-violence. Sometimes it seems to me that if the government is prepared to use this force and violence in stifling every endeavor by my people to improve their lot and to attain some political rights, then sometimes I feel we too have the right to use this violence at times."

Yusuf Dadoo, SAIC president, March 1961

"As time goes on, that struggle will become more bitter and hard.... If timely action is not taken, we may see in South Africa, whether we like it or not, a situation similar to that in Algeria, perhaps on a bigger scale."

Nelson Mandela, May 1961

"Of all the observations made on the strike, none has brought forth so much heat and emotion as the stress and emphasis we put on non-violence. Our most loyal supporters, whose courage and devotion has never been doubted, unanimously and strenuously disagreed with this approach and with the assurances we gave that we would not use any form of intimidation whatsoever to induce people to stay away from work. It was argued that the soil of our beloved country has been stained with the priceless blood of African patriots murdered by the Nationalist government in the course of peaceful and disciplined demonstrations to assert their claims and legitimate aspirations. It was the government that should have been told to refrain from its inhuman policy of violence and massacre, not the African people. It was further argued that it is wrong and indefensible for a political organisation to repudiate picketing, which is used the world over as a legitimate form of pressure to prevent scabbing. Even up to the present day the question that is being asked with monotonous regularity up and down the country is this: is it politically correct to continue preaching peace and non-violence when dealing with a government whose barbaric practices have brought so much suffering and misery to Africans? With equal monotony the question is posed: have we not closed a chapter on this question? These are crucial questions that merit sane and sober reflection. It would be a serious mistake to brush them aside and leave them unanswered."

Nelson Mandela, June 1961
"We agreed that violence was an unfortunate thing. We felt, however, that appeals for non-violence should be addressed to the government who were spoiling for a showdown and massacre [and] not to the African people who had repeatedly protested the peaceful and non-violent character of their campaign. We also felt it to be our duty to place on record that, if people in history had listened to appeals to drop political campaigns launched to back up the demands of an oppressed people simply because violence might occur in the course of such a campaign, the world today would still be languishing under the despotic rule of the Middle Ages."

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Option 3

ADVOCATE GUERRILLA WAR TACTICS FOR AFRICANS ALONE

The African people recognize that to revolutionize South Africa, the present situation wherein white South Africa holds the monopoly of military power must be changed. This can be changed only by our acquisition of the means of challenging that military power. We must separate ourselves from the evil government which refuses to listen to us. We must no longer attempt to communicate with an illegal regime. Instead, we must fight it at every turn. Then the whites will be forced to reckon with us. This is a violent regime which must be purged through violence. We must speak its language.

In Kenya the revolt of the people, called Mau-Mau, resulted in the country's independence. We can do the same here. Now, the State does not listen to us. It does not even consider us people who belong to this land. They do not have to listen to us because they do not fear us. In our non-violent struggle we have posed no threat. We have simply offered ourselves up to be shot. But we can instill fear in the whites, and then they will give up their power. Then, and only then will they give up the hold they have on us.

We must do this alone, without the help of whites or Indians. The majority of white citizens support the regime. The alliance with liberal whites has only slowed us down. This country is ours and we want it back. We are not fighting for good race relations, we are fighting for our country. We must eliminate the forces that are standing in the way of our own power. The only way to do that is to take power away from the whites. We cannot wait for the State to give us more power. That day will never come. Sharpeville showed the futility of non-violence. We must engage ourselves to dismantle apartheid. Let the people speak: give them the weapons to do so. We must show the masses that they can take control.

We don't have time anymore for lengthy discussions and organization. Every day we are being detained, jailed, and killed. Our people are suffering. We must act now. Let the whites be surprised when we attack. Let them crouch in fear. If we are spontaneous in our attacks, we will be more effective.

Random, spontaneous attacks on police and other white people will get attention. Only guerrilla warfare will win us our country back. We are ready for a revolution. Independence NOW!

BELIEFS AND ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING OPTION 3

1. Violence is required to purify this country of the evils of the white government.
2. South Africa should be a nation for Africans. We must fight alone for our freedom.
3. Time is not on our side. The longer we wait to revolt the more of our people will die.

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS FOR OPTION 3

1. Disciplined organization—the sort required for sabotage actions—puts us at risk as we are not allowed to convene meetings. Guerrilla warfare does not require such structure.
2. The fear and intimidation inflicted as a result of guerrilla warfare has gained success for other Africans.
3. Fifty years of non-violent struggle has proved useless.

FROM THE HISTORICAL RECORD

Potlako Leballo, in The Africanist, *1954*
"If need be we must die for our freedom in our lifetime."

"Pola-ca-Pele", in The Africanist, *1955*
"In Africa we must rule."

"Africanus", in The Africanist, *1956*
"To whom does Afrika belong? Is this not the rightful land of the Africans? Do stolen goods belong to a thief and not to its owner [sic]? Those Africans who renounce their claims over Afrika should not stand in the way of the people, for they will be crushed together with oppression....Those who mean to stay in this continent will work for the interests of Africa and her people. Should they stand in the way of the people to independence, their end will be a 'sorrowful sight.' The ruling herrenvolk [master race] know full well that the days of oppression are numbered....Every minute the burning flame of African nationalism is scourging them."

Potlako Leballo, December 1957
"...in order that a self-confident African people must exist it is necessary that they should, through action and self-sacrifice attain political consciousness and consciousness of their destiny. This must be achieved by the Africans for the Africans. It is possible that the battles of Blood River, Keiskamahoek and Thaba-Bosiu will be fought again, this time under the banner of African Nationalism; here, history must be repeated, if our African revolutionary struggle must be victorious. In this struggle for African Freedom, there can be no compromise or apology, nor collaboration, nor servitude. Here, we fight it out, and to the finish."

PAC Founding Manifesto, 1959
"[We must] implement effectively the fundamental principle that the domain of sovereignty over the domination of ownership of the whole territory rest[s] exclusively and inalienably in the indigenous people."

Robert Sobukwe, January 1959
"We...stand for the complete overthrow of white domination."

Robert Sobukwe, August, 1959
"We are gathered here, today, to reiterate our resolve to declare total war against the demi-god of white supremacy....We are here to make an appeal to African intellectuals and business men, African urban and rural proletariat, to join forces in a determined, ruthless and total war against white supremacy."

Josias Madzunya, Treason Trial testimony
"These whites are just bluffing you by saying that they are friendly to you. They will never be friendly....Europeans are like lice. They are parasites, busy sucking on blood by means of work for unequal pay."

Robert Sobukwe, 1960
"...We are not afraid of the consequences of our action and it is not our intention to plead for mercy."

Potlako Leballo, February 1960
"...We will never share our country with the oppressors."

Oceanic Ngosa, trial testimony, 1965, speaking of 1961
"The time has now come when violence would be resorted to....Members must now arm themselves when

they go to meetings so that if a policeman should enter and disturb us we shall kill him then and there. Even when distributing leaflets if we should come across a policeman who wants to arrest us or disturb us, we must kill him."

"Terra" in Mafube, *May 1961*
"In pursuing our struggle, cognisance must be taken of the fact that our flight is all-embracing and is against the whole system of white domination. It is therefore unwise to waste valuable time and energy at conference and conventions whose chief aim is to impose upon us a MULTI-RACIAL PROGRAMME as against a PURELY African-inspired programme....The time for consultation is over, and all that is left for us is to strike a death-blow at the monster of exploitation and white domination."

EPILOGUE: BECOMING SOUTH AFRICA

In December 1961 the president of the ANC, Chief Albert Luthuli, accepted the Nobel Peace Prize for his non-violent struggle against apartheid. The government let him out of South Africa to attend the ceremony in Oslo fearing that not to do so would cause a world outcry. In his speech he commented on the long history of peaceful protest of Africans all over the continent against white rule.

> *"We, in our situation, have chosen the path of non-violence of our own volition....All the strength of progressive leadership in South Africa, all my life and strength, has been given to the pursuance of this method, in an attempt to avert disaster."*
>
> *—Chief Luthuli, December 11, 1961*

What decision did the ANC come to regarding the use of violence?

Five days later *Umkhonto we Sizwe* ("Spear of the Nation" in Zulu, also called MK) announced its existence through the dissemination of a flyer.

> *"The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices: submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means within our power in defense of our people, our future, and our freedom."*
>
> *—MK flyer, issued December 16, 1961*

In secret, underground meetings, the leadership of the ANC decided in June 1961 to launch sabotage campaigns against the government, one part of a broader strategy that also included mass non-violent action as well as advocating sanctions against the government and diplomatic isolation from the world community. The sabotage campaigns would be organized by a new group, MK, led by Nelson Mandela. MK was the armed wing of the ANC, but that connection was not to be made public in order to protect ANC members from further jeopardy. Additionally, while Luthuli most likely knew of this shift in ANC policy to include the use of violence as one of the four pillars in the struggle, it is not clear whether he condoned it. He, in particular, was shielded from connections to MK. Headquarters for MK were at a secluded house (paid for partly by the Communist Party) in Rivonia, a white suburb of Johannesburg

On December 16th, the anniversary of the Battle of Blood River, MK used small bombs to damage administrative offices in Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg, and Durban. One saboteur was killed by his own bomb in the attacks. Over the following eighteen months MK launched about two hundred attacks on symbols of white domination such as jails and railways.

How was the PAC's decision different?

The Pan Africanist Congress had simultaneously designed its own militant wing, called *Poqo,* which means "pure" or "independent" in Xhosa. *Poqo* was not as centrally organized as MK, and the group had no identifiable leader. Unlike MK, *Poqo* practiced guerrilla tactics, targeting both whites and black collaborators.

> *"The white people shall suffer, the black people will rule. Freedom comes after bloodshed. Poqo has started."*
>
> *—Poqo leaflet issued in December 1961*

Poqo was successful in inciting widespread intimidation and fear among whites because of its random attacks. For example, *Poqo* was responsible for the hacking to death of five whites, including two young girls, who were camping near a river in 1963. *Poqo* also killed several police officers.

What method did the SAIC adopt?

Although some members of the SAIC joined MK, the official position of the organization held true to its original founder, Gandhi, and his peaceful protest stance. The SAIC called on the international community to take a stand against racial discrimination in South Africa, and it refused to cooperate with any of the government's segregationist policies—even those not related to Indians.

> *"Both in the international and national fields we stand for peace and for peaceful solution of the problems which beset humanity."*
>
> *—SAIC presidential address, September 1961*

What was the Rivonia Trial?

In response to the sabotage and guerrilla tactics now employed by some Africans, the government issued new laws which allowed for more arrests and detentions. The Sabotage Act of 1962 gave the government power to arrest anyone believed to threaten the security of the country. The following year the 90-Day Act allowed the government to detain people without charges or trials for up to ninety days. Following that time, individuals could be released for a few moments, then detained again for an additional ninety days, and so on. Detainees had no rights of access to lawyers or to their families. The South African government was rapidly becoming a police state. Hundreds of ANC and PAC members were arrested, including Nelson Mandela. Some of those arrested were subjected to torture, including electric shocks, beatings, and suffocation in plastic bags. White protesters were tortured less frequently than blacks.

The police surprised several members of the ANC as they were looking over a proposal in their Rivonia headquarters in July 1963. The documents the police found, many of which were right on the table as they entered the house, doomed the ANC leadership. Nine people, including Nelson Mandela, were tried in the Rivonia Trial. The accused admitted that they were involved in sabotage and that they had been investigating the possibility of guerrilla warfare.

> *"During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people.... It is an ideal which I hope to live for and which I hope to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."*
>
> *—Nelson Mandela, in the courtroom*

On June 12, 1964, Mandela and seven others were sentenced to life in prison. The ANC and PAC leaders were now in prison or exile, and their organizations lost some effectiveness.

The UN Security Council urged the South African government to grant amnesty to the defendants, and even considered the use of sanctions against South Africa to propel the country to dismantle the apartheid system. For the remainder of the 1960s and into the 1970s, however, the authoritarianism of the government merely increased. Raids continued, individuals were detained, and the international community's reaction seemed to do little to change the entrenchment of the apartheid system.

ENTRENCHMENT

With the anti-apartheid leadership mostly in jail or in exile, a new generation of protestors emerged.

What was Black Consciousness?

Foremost among them was Steve Biko, who founded the Black Consciousness Movement, a social and political movement inspired in part by the Black Power movement in the United States. Black Consciousness pressed for increased rights and an end to "separate development" without the help of whites; in fact, whites were excluded from Black Consciousness activities because the movement was trying to demonstrate to blacks, coloureds, and Indians that they could succeed on their own power.

> *"As long as we go to Whitey begging cap in hand for our own emancipation, we are giving him further sanction to continue with his racist and oppressive system....[We] need to rally together...and to operate as a group to rid [ourselves] of the shackles that bind [us] to perpetual servitude....The philosophy of Black Consciousness...expresses group pride and the determination of the black to rise and attain the envisaged self....The most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed."*
>
> *—Steve Biko*

Black Consciousness succeeded in winning many followers, primarily young people. The movement was banned in 1977. Its members eventually dissipated or joined other radical groups.

How did world-wide economic and political shifts change the apartheid system?

As machinery in the industrial businesses of South Africa required more skilled workers, companies found that there were simply not enough white workers available. Blacks, coloureds, and Asians began to fill those positions, and in time, despite the fact that no legal means to organize were available to blacks, their status and responsibility in the industrial sector grew. The government began to realize that its economic success depended not just on white workers, but also on the happiness and well-being of a growing group of skilled black, coloured, and Asian workers.

Independence movements in other southern and central African countries changed the political landscape as well. Following the departure of white rulers from Mozambique and Angola, South Africa became virtually surrounded by black regimes. From these countries African guerrillas in the ANC and PAC could plan and make attacks on South Africa.

What happened in Soweto?

In South Africa itself people living in the townships of large cities were becoming increasingly frustrated by their situation. High school students in Soweto, the SOuth WEst TOwnship of Johannesburg, were angered that their schools lacked materials and teachers adequate to their needs. They also protested the policy of Afrikaans as one of the languages of instruction. The idea that they had to learn the language of their oppressors—spoken nowhere else in the world—in order to function in math, science, and history classes angered students.

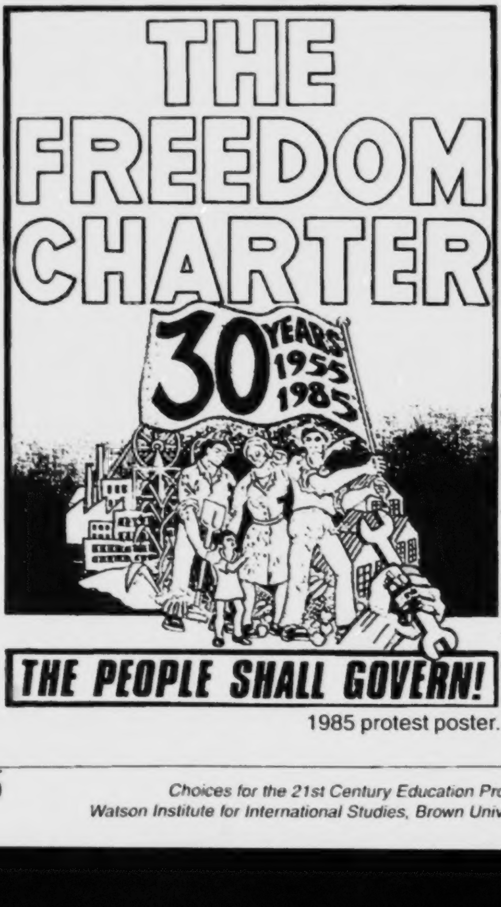
In June 1976 Soweto students staged a massive demonstration against Afrikaans instruction, and their demonstration was met with armed response from the government. The riots did not end, however, and in fact students from all over central South Africa joined in the unarmed protests. Over the next several months teenagers ran at police who were firing guns at them. More teenagers were arrested and tortured, sometimes killed, in prisons. In the end, close to six hundred people were killed and nearly twenty-five hundred injured.

In response to their dire situation, many young people left the townships for Mozambique, where they trained as guerrillas with the banned ANC. South Africa was in a state of crisis.

A year after the Soweto uprising, Steve Biko died in prison, a victim of torture. Although the police denied it initially, Biko's head had been repeatedly bashed into a wall, and his near-dead body was driven in a police van for over seven hundred miles, ostensibly to the hospital. News of Biko's death and continued desperate conditions angered the black, coloured, and Indian communities to such an extent that many participated in anti-government protests which became increasingly violent.

Why did the failing economy doom apartheid?

The South African police and military forces could not keep up with the demands of their daily routines. South Africa illegally occupied South West



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1985 protest poster.

Africa (now Namibia), and it was also militarily involved in Angola. This over-extension forced the government to initiate reforms in the apartheid system to keep it alive. There were not enough white recruits to fulfill the needs of the police forces, so the government grudgingly began to recruit blacks. Defense spending grew astronomically, and the huge numbers of able-bodied people in the security forces left significant holes in the civilian economy.

Additionally, semi-skilled black workers were now needed in large numbers to support the industrial sector of the economy, and they needed to be adequately educated. In the 1980s black trade unions provided much of the structure for protesting apartheid. The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), along with other groups, became central to the political struggle. The unions organized strikes and provided platforms for mass action. Apartheid, now very expensive, was sealing its own death.

The death was long and painful. More peaceful protests led to more black deaths, and the government declared a State of Emergency in 1985. Many people openly carried ANC banners as they marched through the streets. The protests were not just against the government, however, but also against black "conspirators" who had joined the police forces. Often these "betrayers" were killed in the gruesome fashion known as "necklacing": they were burned to death after car tires filled with gasoline were placed around their bodies.

Umkhonto we Sizwe also engaged in more attacks in the 1980s, including against "soft" targets like bus stations and restaurants. These bombings did not incite people to rise up, however. The government reaction was further repression and the encouragement of vigilante action on the part of black collaborators. These "black-on-black" crimes, encouraged by the police, were often used as an excuse for more police presence and increased restriction. Thousands of people were placed in detention. The country seemed headed toward civil war.

LIBERATION

The violence of the State of Emergency led nations around the world, including the United States, to impose limited sanctions on South Africa. The world-wide oil and arms embargo prevented South Africa from importing those products legally, although the country continued to do so illegally. Some countries, including the United States, refused to buy some products, such as gold, from South Africa. Although South Africa was able to circumvent many sanctions, the country's racist policies were clearly isolating it from the world.

While violence, detention, and police brutality continued, the South African economy, as a result of the sanctions and its own defense spending, began to crumble. The combined force of the four pillars of the ANC's strategy—mass action, sabotage, sanctions, and diplomatic isolation—was finally becoming effective.

In August 1989, a new South African president assumed power. F.W. de Klerk was known as a conservative, but his understanding of the need for modifications in light of the worsening economic system led him to make significant changes. He believed that the massive rioting indicated apartheid was no longer viable.

To the surprise of many around the world, de Klerk released Mandela unconditionally from prison on February 11, 1990, twenty-seven years after he had

FREEDOM
in our lifetime

Reuters/Dufka

Voters wait for hours in line at the 1994 elections in Soweto.

Reuters/Ngwenya

De Klerk and Mandela celebrate at the 1994 inauguration.

entered. At the same time, de Klerk unbanned the various anti-apartheid groups, and he agreed to talks with leaders from all racial groups to develop a post-apartheid government system in South Africa.

> *"We would all like Mr. Mandela's release to take place in a dignified and orderly manner."*
>
> *—F.W. de Klerk, eve of Mandela's release*
>
> *"Our resort to the armed struggle in 1960 [sic] with the formation of the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was a purely defensive action against the violence of apartheid.... We express the hope that a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement will be created soon so that there may no longer be the need for the armed struggle."*
>
> *—Nelson Mandela, at his release*

While Mandela's release offered liberal South Africans great hope, the problem of radical young people was becoming clear. Many of these teenagers and young adults had little schooling, were bitter about their situation, and wanted immediate change. Meanwhile, the State of Emergency continued for several months. By the fall of 1990, however, most public areas were becoming desegregated, and in February, 1991 de Klerk removed key apartheid laws from the books.

Following the release of Mandela and the repeal of apartheid laws, political violence in South Africa continued. Various groups tried to gain power in the transition, sometimes fueling old fires. In fact, conflict continued for an additional four years as leaders met to negotiate the future of the country. The negotiations were lengthy and difficult.

They were also marred by actions of the government. For instance, security forces supported—both militarily and financially—a primarily Zulu group called the Inkatha Freedom Party, which engaged in violent conflicts with the ANC. Such action on the part of the government increased the ANC's suspicions. Others, such as the PAC, were impatient for change, and accused the ANC of "selling out."

POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

Finally, a tenuous solution was reached. As a result of the negotiations, the political organizations agreed to the formation of a new constitution, which became one of the most democratic constitutions in the world. It explicitly protects members of all races, ethnic groups, religions, sexual orientations, and of both genders. All political parties took part in its construction, and in 1994 the new voting rights allowed blacks, coloureds, Asians, and whites to cast ballots together for the first time. ANC leader Nelson Mandela was elected president. For their parts in ending apartheid, Mandela and de Klerk were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993.

What was the Truth and Reconciliation Commission?

Part of the constitution called for the formation of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The TRC was made up of people of all races who would oversee the investigation of violent acts, punishment of perpetrators, and reparations payments to victims of apartheid or anti-apartheid violence. Both apartheid supporters and opponents appeared before the commission to explain how they or their families were victimized, or how they had used violent means to support their cause.

> *"We are charged to unearth the truth about our dark past, to lay the ghosts of that past so that they will not return to haunt us. And [so] that we will thereby contribute to the healing of a traumatised and wounded people...and in this way to promote national unity and reconciliation."*
>
> *—Archbishop Desmund Tutu, TRC Chairman*

Many people were grateful to be able to tell the Commission what had happened to them or their families, as they felt no one had listened to their stories before.

During the TRC many South Africans learned for the first time of the horrific tactics used by the government to eliminate apartheid opponents, particularly in the 1980s. People learned that political prisoners had been regularly gang raped, electrocuted, pushed out of windows to their deaths, and slowly poisoned. Young men were lured into vans with promises of attending political meetings, and the vans were set alight. In some cases, police admitted to burning the bodies of their victims in barbecue pits while they cooked their dinner and drank their beer on the side. The government also used biological and chemical weapons against activists, including releasing cholera bacteria into the water systems of some towns.

One controversial element of the Commission enabled perpetrators to receive amnesty for their acts if they could prove that what they had done was politically motivated and commensurate with the perceived needs of either the apartheid or anti-apartheid movement. Applicants also had to reveal the truth of their actions before live audiences, often facing the victims and victims' families. In many cases the families learned for the first time during the hearings of how their relatives died and where they were buried. The TRC proved to be healing for many South Africans, but disturbing for some.

> *"I felt what...has brought my eyesight back is to come back here and tell this story....I feel what has been making me sick all this time is the fact that I couldn't tell my story.*
>
> *—Lukas Sikwepere, who lost his sight to a police gunshot wound*
>
> *"The Commission, with its quest for truth, has not healed my wounds. It has opened ones I never knew I had."*
>
> *—Phylicia Oppelt, newspaper reporter*

The TRC heard cases for three years, and issued its initial report in 1998. Since then, South Africa has been struggling to come to terms with its past and embrace its multi-racial future. It has also taken on a political leadership role in southern Africa. Although South Africa has removed the major stumbling block of apartheid, the country faces problems with the AIDS crisis, continued poverty and crime, and mistrust among ethnic groups.

The financial legacy of apartheid persists so that, on the whole, blacks remain much poorer than whites, and continue to struggle to make ends meet. Unemployment is high, and many blacks still have inadequate housing. In 2003, president Thabo Mbeki announced that over nineteen thousand families who had testified before the TRC would receive reparations payments. Many families think the $3,900 payment is too little. Promises of land reform, which would return land to blacks dispossessed decades earlier, have, for the most part, not yet been met. The political transformation has not yet been matched by an economic one.

> *"We've learned to look at each other's eyes here. Otherwise you can't get a country. We're not South Africa yet. We're becoming South Africa."*
>
> *—Justice Albie Sachs*

Chronology of South African History

ca. 14,000 BCE	Khoisan hunter-gatherers move to Southern Africa
ca.300 CE	Cultivation introduced by Bantu peoples
1487	Portuguese explorers reach the Cape of Good Hope
1652	Jan van Riebeeck arrives with the Dutch East India Company
1658	Dutch begin to import slaves
1806	Britain gains control of the Cape Colony
1809	First pass laws enacted
1817-30s	*Mfecane* movement creates unrest in eastern areas
1834	British end slavery in all British colonies
1836	British return some land to Xhosa
1836-1840s	Afrikaner Great Trek
1838	The Battle of Blood River
1860-1866	Indians first arrive in South Africa as indentured servants
1867	Diamonds first discovered
1886	Gold first discovered
1893	Gandhi arrives in South Africa
1899-1902	South African War
1910	Union of South Africa formed
1911	Mines and Works Act passed
	Native Labor Regulation Act passed
1912	African National Congress established
1913	Natives' Land Act passed
	National Party founded
1914-1918	World War I
1919	First mass protest organized by ANC
1923	South African Indian Congress established
	Native Urban Areas Act passed
1939-1945	World War II
1944	ANC Youth League formed
1948	National Party gains power and adopts apartheid
late 1940s	ANC begins to oppose apartheid policies
1949	Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act passed
1950	Population Registration Act passed
	Suppression of Communism Act passed
	Group Areas Act passed
	Ammedment to the Immorality Act passed
1952	The Defiance Campaign calls for an end to apartheid
	Natives Abolition of Pssses and Coordination of Documents Act passed

1953	Criminal Law Amendment Act passed
	Public Safety Act passed
	Bantu Education Act passed
1955	Congress of the People adopts the Freedom Charter
1956-1960	Treason Trial
1957	Alexandra bus boycott
1959	Pan Africanist Congress established
	Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act passed
1960	Sharpeville massacre
	Stay-At-Home Campaign
1961	All-in Africa Conference
	Republic of South Africa formed, South Africa quits British Commonwealth
	Stay-At-Home Campaign
	ANC and PAC establish armed wings (*Umkhonto we Sizwe* and *Poqo*)
	Albert Luthuli accepts Nobel Peace Prize
1962	Sabotage Act passed
	UN voluntary embargo begins
1963	90-Day Act passed
	Rivonia Trial begins
1964	ANC activists sentenced to life in prison
1976	Soweto uprising
1977	Steve Biko killed in prison
1984	Desmond Tutu wins Nobel Peace Prize
1984-85	State of Emergency called due to violence
1986	Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and Pass Laws repealed
1989	F.W. de Klerk appointed president
	Several anti-apartheid leaders released from prison
1990	Nelson Mandela released from prison
1992	Most sanctions lifted
1993	Mandela, de Klerk jointly receive Nobel Peace Prize
	New constitution ratified
1994	Mandela elected president of the Republic of South Africa
	South Africa rejoins British Commonwealth
1996	Truth and Reconciliation Commission begins hearings
1997	New permanent constitution goes into effect
1999	Thabo Mbeki elected president
2003	TRC issues final report

Supplementary Documents

Statement by the National Party of South Africa, March 29, 1948

The text below outlines the National Party's Colour Policy, which it introduced upon winning the 1948 elections.

There are two sections of thought in South Africa in regard to the policy affecting the non-European community. On the one hand there is the policy of equality, which advocates equal rights within the same political structure for all civilized and educated persons, irrespective of race or colour, and the gradual granting of the franchise to non-Europeans as they become qualified to make use of democratic rights.

On the other hand there is the policy of separation (apartheid) which has grown from the experience of established European population of the country, and which is based on the Christian principles of Justice and reasonableness.

Its aim is the maintenance and protection of the European population of the country as a pure White race, the maintenance and protection of the indigenous racial groups as separate communities, with prospects of developing into self-supporting communities within their own areas, and the stimulation of national pride, self-respect, and mutual respect among the various races of the country.

We can act in only, one of two directions. Either we must follow the course of equality, which must eventually mean national suicide for the White race, or we must take the course of separation (apartheid) through which the character and the future of every race will be protected and safeguarded with full opportunities for development and self-maintenance in their own ideas, without the interests of one clashing with the interests of the other, and without one regarding the development of the other as undermining or a threat to himself.

The party therefore undertakes to protect the White race properly and effectively against any policy, doctrine or attack which might undermine or threaten its continued existence. At the same time the party rejects any policy of oppression and exploitation of the non-Europeans by the Europeans as being in conflict with the Christian basis of our national life and irreconcilable with our policy.

The party believes that a definite policy of separation (apartheid) between the White races and the non-White racial groups, and the application of the policy of separation also in the case of the non-White racial groups, is the only basis on which the character and future of each race can be protected and safeguarded and on which each race can be guided so as to develop his own national character, aptitude and calling.

All marriages between Europeans and non-Europeans will be prohibited.

In their areas the non-European racial groups will have full opportunities for development in every sphere and will be able to develop their own institutions and social services whereby the forces of the progressive non-Europeans can be harnessed for their own national development (volkeepbou). The policy of the country must be so planned that it will eventually promote the ideal of complete separation (algehele apartheid) in a national way.

A permanent advisory body of experts on non-European affairs will be established.

The State will exercise complete supervision over the moulding of the youth. The party will not tolerate interference from without or destructive propaganda from the outside world in regard to the racial problems of South Africa.

The party wishes all non-Europeans to be strongly encouraged to make the Christian religion the basis of their lives and will assist churches in this task in every possible way. Churches and societies which undermine the policy of apartheid and propagate doctrines foreign to the nation will be checked.

The Coloured community takes a middle position between the European and the Natives. A policy of separation (apartheid) between the Europeans and Coloureds and between Natives and Coloureds will be applied in the social, residential, industrial and political spheres. No marriage between Europeans and Coloureds will be permitted. The Coloureds will be protected against unfair competition from the Natives in so far as where they are already established.

The Coloured community will be represented in the Senate by a European representative to be appointed by the Government by reason of his knowledge of Coloured affairs.

The present unhealthy system which allows Coloureds in the Cape to be registered on the same voters' roll as Europeans and to vote for the same candidate as Europeans will be abolished and the Coloureds will be represented in the House of Assembly by three European representatives.

These Coloured representatives will be elected by a Coloured representative council. They will not vote on:

(1) Votes on confidence in the Government.
(2) A declaration of war, and
(3) A change in the political rights of non-Europeans.

A State Department of Coloured Affairs will be established.

The Coloured community will be represented in the Cape Provincial Council by three Europeans elected by the Coloured representative council.

A Coloured representative council will be established in the Cape Province consisting of representatives elected by the Coloured community, divided into constituencies with the present franchise qualifications, the head of the Department of Coloured Affairs and representatives nominated by the Government. In their own areas the Coloured community will have their own councils with their own public services which will be managed by themselves within the framework of the existing councils with higher authority.

Attention will be given to the provision of social, medical and welfare services in which the efforts of the Coloured themselves can be harnessed, and in which they will be taught as far as possible to be self-supporting.

The Freedom Charter, adopted at the Congress of the People, Kliptown, June 26, 1955

We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

- that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;
- that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;
- that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;
- that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together equals, countrymen and brothers adopt this Freedom Charter;

And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

The People Shall Govern!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;
All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;
The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;
All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

All National Groups Shall have Equal Rights!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;
All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;
All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;
The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;
All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

The People Shall Share in the Country's Wealth!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of South Africans, shall be restored to the people;
The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;
All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the wellbeing of the people;
All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

The Land Shall be Shared Among Those Who Work It!

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land re-divided amongst those who work it to banish famine and land hunger;
The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;
Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;
All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;
People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

All Shall be Equal Before the Law!

No-one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial; No-one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;
The courts shall be representative of all the people;
Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;
The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;
All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

All Shall Enjoy Equal Human Rights!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;
The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;
All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South

Africa abroad;
Pass Laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

There Shall be Work and Security!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;
The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;
Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;
There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;
Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;
Child labour, compound labour, the tot system [whereby vineyard workers are paid partly in wine] and contract labour shall be abolished.

The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;
All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;
The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;
Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children; Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;
Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;
Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;
The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

There Shall be Houses, Security and Comfort!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;
Unused housing space to be made available to the people;
Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no-one shall go hungry;
A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;
Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;
Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;
The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;
Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all:
Fenced locations and ghettoes shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

There Shall be Peace and Friendship!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;
South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation — not war;
Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and

status of all;
The people of the protectorates Basutoland, Bechuanáland and Swaziland shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;
The right of all peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all people who love their people and their country to say, as we say here:

THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY

An Honour to Africa

Albert Luthuli's Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech December 10, 1961

This year as in the years before it, mankind has paid for the maintenance of peace the price of many lives. It was in the course of his activities in the interests of peace that the late Dag Hammarskjold lost his life. Of his work a great deal has been said and written, but I wish to take this opportunity to say how much I regret that he is not with us to receive acknowledgement of the service he has rendered to mankind. It is significant that it was in Africa, my home continent, that he gave his life. How many times his decisions helped to avert world catastrophes will never be known, but there can be no doubt that he steered the United Nations through some of the most difficult phases in its history. His absence from our midst today should be an enduring lesson for all peace-lovers and a challenge to the nations of the world to eliminate those conditions in Africa which brought about the tragic and untimely end to his life.

As you may have heard, when the South African Minister of the Interior announced that subject to a number of rather unusual conditions, I would be permitted to come to Oslo for this occasion, he expressed the view that I did not deserve the Nobel Peace Prize for 1960. Such is the magic of the Peace Prize that it has even managed to produce an issue on which I agree with the Government of South Africa, although on different premises. It is the greatest honour in the life of any man to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, and no one who appreciates its profound significance can escape a feeling of inadequacy when selected to receive it. In this instance, the feeling is the deeper, not only because the selections are made by a committee of the most eminent citizens of this country, but also because I find it hard to believe that in this distressed and heavy-laden world, I could be counted among those whose efforts have amounted to a noticeable contribution to the welfare of mankind.

I recognise, however, that in my country, South Africa, the spirit of peace is subject to some of the severest tensions known to man. For that reason South Africa has been and continues to be in the focus of world attention. I therefore regard this award as a recognition of the sacrifices by my people of all races, particularly the African people, who have endured and suffered so much for so long. It can only be on behalf of the people of South Africa, especially the freedom-loving people, that I accept this award. I accept it also as an honour, not only to South Africa, but to the whole continent of Africa, to all its people, whatever their race, colour or creed. It is an honour to the peace-loving people of the entire world, and an encouragement to us all to redouble our efforts in the struggle for peace and friendship.

For my own part, I am deeply conscious of the added responsibility which the award entails. I have the feeling that I have been made answerable for the future of the people of South Africa, for if there is no peace for the majority of them, there is no peace for any.

I can only pray that the Almighty will give me strength to make my humble contribution to the peaceful solution of South Africa`s and indeed the world`s problems.

Happily I am but one among millions who have dedicated their lives to the service of mankind, who have given in time, property and life to ensure that all men shall live in peace and happiness.

It is appropriate at this point to mention the late Alfred Nobel, to whom we owe our presence here, and who, by establishing the Nobel Institute, placed responsibility for the maintenance of peace on the individual, so making peace, no less than war, the concern of every man and woman on earth - whether they be in Stanger or Berlin, in Washington or the shanty towns of South Africa.

It is this catholic quality in the late Nobel`s ideals which has won for the Nobel Peace Prize the importance and universal recognition which it enjoys. In an age when the outbreak of war would wipe out the entire face of the earth, the ideals of Nobel should not merely be accepted or even admired: they should be lived. Scientific inventions at all conceivable levels should enrich human life, not threaten its existence. Science should be the greatest ally, not the worst enemy, of mankind. Only so can the world not only respond to the worthy efforts of Nobel, but also insure itself against self-destruction.

In Africa, as our contribution to peace, we are resolved to end such evils as oppression, white supremacy and racial discrimination, all of which are incompatible with world peace and security. We are encouraged to know, by the very nature of the award made for 1960, that in our efforts, we are serving our fellow men the world over. May the day come soon, when the peoples of the world will rouse themselves, and together effectively stamp out any threat to peace, in whatever quarter of the world it may be found. When that day comes, there shall be peace on earth and goodwill between men.

Umkhonto we Sizwe Flyer
Appeared December 16, 1961

Units of Umkhonto we Sizwe today carried out planned attacks against government installations, particularly those connected with the policy of apartheid and race discrimination.

Umkhonto we Sizwe is a new, independent body, formed by Africans, It includes in its ranks South Africans of all races It is not connected in any way with a so-called 'Committee for National Liberation' whose existence has been announced in the press. Umkhonto we Sizwe will carry on the struggle for freedom and democracy by new methods, which are necessary to complement the actions of the established national liberation organisations. Umkhonto we Sizwe fully supports the national liberation movement, and our members jointly and individually, place themselves under the overall political guidance of that movement.

It is, however, well known that the main national liberation organisations in this country have consistently followed a policy of non-violence. They have conducted themselves peaceably at all times, regardless of government attacks and persecutions upon them, and despite all government-inspired attempts to provoke them to violence. They have done so because the people prefer peaceful methods of change to achieve their aspirations without the suffering and bitterness of civil war. But the people's patience is not endless.

The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices: submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom. The government has interpreted the peacefulness of the movement as weakness; the people's non-violent policies have been taken as a green light for government violence. Refusal to resort to force has been interpreted by the government as an invitation to use armed force against the people without any fear of reprisals. The methods of Umkhonto we Sizwe mark a break with that past.

We are striking out along a new road for the liberation of the people of this country. The government policy of force, repression and violence will no longer be met with non-violent resistance only! The choice is not ours; it has been made by the Nationalist government which has rejected ever peaceable demand by the people for rights and freedom and answered ever such demand with force and yet more force! Twice in the past 18 months, virtual martial law has been imposed in order to beat down peaceful, non-violent strike action of the people in support of their rights. It is now preparing its forces - enlarging and rearming its armed forces and drawing the white civilian population into commandos and pistol clubs - for full-scale military actions against the people. The Nationalist government has chosen the course of force and massacre, now, deliberately, as it did at Sharpeville.

Umkhonto we Sizwe will be at the front line of the people's defence. It will be the fighting arm of the people against the government and its policies of race oppression . It will be the striking force of the people for liberty, for rights and for their final liberation! Let the government, its supporters who put it into power, and those whose passive toleration of reaction keeps it in power, take note of where the Nationalist government is leading the country!

We of Umkhonto we Sizwe have always sought -as the liberation movement has sought - to achieve liberation without bloodshed and civil clash. We do so still. We hope - even at this late hour - that our first actions will awaken every one to a realisation of the disastrous situation to which the Nationalist policy is leading. We hope that we will bring the government and its supporters to their senses before it is too late, so that both the government and its policies can be changed before matters reach the desperate state of civil war. We believe our actions to be a blow against the Nationalist preparations for civil war and military rule.

In these actions, we are working in the best interests of all the people of this country - black, brown and white - whose future happiness and well-being cannot be attained without the overthrow of the Nationalist government, the abolition of white supremacy and the winning of liberty, democracy and full national rights and equality for all the people of this country.

We appeal for the support and encouragement of all those South Africans who seek the happiness and freedom of the people of this country.

Afrika Mayibuye!

Operation Mayibuye
Document found by the police at Rivonia, July 11, 1963

PART I

The white state has thrown overboard every pretence of rule by democratic process. Armed to the teeth it has presented the people with only one choice and that is its overthrow by force and violence. It can now truly be said that very little, if any, scope exists for the smashing of white supremacy other than by means of mass revolutionary action, the main content of which is armed resistance leading to victory by military means.

The political events which have occurred in the last few years have convinced the overwhelming majority of the people that no mass struggle which is not backed up by armed resistance and military offensive operations, can hope to make a real impact. This can be seen from the general mood of the people and their readiness to undertake even desperate and suicidal violent campaigns of the Leballo type. It can also be gauged by their reluctance to participate in orthodox political struggles in which they expose themselves to massive retaliation without a prospect of hitting back. We are confident that the masses will respond in overwhelming numbers to a lead which holds out a real possibility of successful armed struggle .

Thus two important ingredients of a revolutionary situation are present:

a. A disillusionment with constitutional or semi-constitutional forms of struggle and a conviction that the road to victory is through force;

b. A militancy and a readiness to respond to a lead which holds out a real possibility of successful struggle.

In the light of the existence of these ingredients the prosecution of military struggle depends for its success on two further factors:

a. The strength of the enemy. This must not be looked at statically but in the light of objective factors, which in a period of military struggle may well expose its brittleness and

b. The existence of a clear leadership with material resources at its disposal to spark off and sustain military operations.

The objective military conditions in which the movement finds itself makes the possibility of a general uprising leading to direct military struggle an unlikely one. Rather, as in Cuba, the general uprising must be sparked off by organised and well prepared guerrilla operations during the course of which the masses of the people will be drawn in and armed.

We have no illusions about the difficulties which face us in launching and successfully prosecuting guerrilla operations leading to military victory. Nor do we assume that such a struggle will be over swiftly. We have taken into account and carefully weighed numerous factors and we mention some of them:

a. We are faced with a powerfully armed modern state with tremendous industrial resources, which can, at least in the initial period, count on the support of three million whites. At the same time the State is isolated practically from the rest of the world, and if effective work is done, will have to rely in the main on its own resources. The very concentration of industry and power and the interdependence of the various localities operates as both an advantage and a disadvantage for the enemy. It operates as a disadvantage because effective guerrilla operations can within a relatively short period create far greater economic havoc and confusion than in a backward, decentralised country.

b. The people are unarmed and lack personnel who have been trained in all aspects of military operations. A proper organisation of the almost unlimited assistance which we can obtain from friendly Governments will counterbalance its disadvantage. In the long run a guerrilla struggle relies on the enemy for its source of supply. But in order to make this possible an initial effective arming of the first group of guerrilla bands is essential. It is also vital to place in the field persons trained in the art of war who will act as a nucleus of organisers and commanders of guerrilla operations.

c. The absence of friendly borders and long scale impregnable natural bases from which to operate are both disadvantages. But more important than these factors is the support of the people who in certain situations are better protection than mountains and forests. In the rural areas which become the main theatre of guerrilla operations in the initial phase, the overwhelming majority of the people will protect and safeguard the guerrillas and this fact will to some measure negative [negate] the disadvantages. In any event we must not underestimate the fact that there is terrain in many parts of South Africa, which although not classically impregnable is suitable for guerrilla type operations. Boer guerrillas with the support of their people operated in the plains of the Transvaal. Although conditions have changed there is still a lesson to be learnt from this.

Although we must prepare for a protracted war we must not lose sight of the fact that the political isolation of South Africa from the world community of nations and particularly the active hostility towards it from almost the whole of the African Continent and the Socialist world may result in such massive assistance in various forms, that the state structure will collapse far sooner than we can at the moment envisage. Direct military intervention in South West Africa, an effective economic and military boycott, even armed international action at some more advanced stage of the struggle are real possibilities which will play an important role. In no other territory where guerrilla operations have been undertaken has the international situation been such a vital factor operating against the enemy. We are not unaware that there are powerful external monopoly interests who will attempt to bolster up the white state. With effective work they can be isolated and neutralised. The events of the last few years have shown that the issue of racial discrimination cuts across world ideological conflict albeit that the West proceeds from opportunistic premises.

The following plan envisages a process which will place in the field, at a date fixed now, simultaneously in pre-selected areas armed and trained guerrilla bands who will find ready to join the local guerrilla bands with arms and equipment at their disposal. It will further coincide with a massive propaganda campaign both inside and outside South Africa and a general call for unprecedented mass struggle throughout the land, both violent and non-violent. In the initial period when for a short while the military adv. [sic] will be ours the plan envisages a massive onslaught on pre-selected targets which will create maximum havoc and confusion in the enemy camp and which will inject into the masses of the people and other friendly forces a feeling of confidence that here at least is an army of liberation equipped and capable of leading them to victory. In this period the cornerstone of guerrilla operations is "shamelessly attack the weak and shamelessly flee from the strong".

We are convinced that this plan is capable of fulfillment. But only if the whole apparatus of the movement both here and abroad is mobilised for its implementation and if every member now prepares to make unlimited sacrifice for the achievement of our goal. The time for small thinking is over because history leaves us no choice.

PART II

AREAS

1. Port Elizabeth - Mzimkulu.
2. Port Shepstone - Swaziland.
3. North Western Transvaal, bordering respectively Bechuanaland & Limpopo.
4. North Western Cape - South West.

PART III

PLAN

1. Simultaneous landing of 4 groups of 30 based on our present resources whether by ship or air — armed and properly equipped in such a way as to be self sufficient in every respect for at least a month.

2. At the initial stages it is proposed that the 30 are split up into platoons of 10 each to operate more or less within a contiguous area and linking their activities with pre-arranged local groups.

3. Simultaneously with the landing of the groups of 30 and thereafter, there should be a supply of arms and other war material to arm the local populations which become integrated with the guerrilla units.

4. On landing, a detailed plan of attack on pre-selected targets with a view to taking the enemy by surprise, creating the maximum impact on the populace, creating as much chaos and confusion for the enemy as possible.

5. Choice of suitable areas will be based on the nature of the terrain, with a view to establishing base areas from which our units can attack and to which they can retreat.

6. Before these operations take place political authority will have been set up in secrecy in a friendly territory with a view to supervising the struggle both in its internal and external aspects. It is visualised that this authority will in due course of time develop into a Provisional Revolutionary Government.

7. This Political Authority should trim its machinery so that simultaneously with the commencement of operations it will throw out massive propaganda to win world support for our struggle, more particularly:

a. A complete enforcement of boycott,

b. Enlisting the support of the international trade union movement to refuse handling war materials and other goods intended for the South African Government,

c. Raising a storm at the United Nations which should be urged to intervene militarily in South West Africa.

d. Raising of large scale credits for the prosecution of the struggle,

e. Arranging for radio facilities for daily transmission to the world and to the people of South Africa.

f. If possible the Political Authority should arrange for the initial onslaught to bombard the country or certain areas with a flood of leaflets by plane announcing the commencement of our armed struggle as well as our aims, and calling upon the population to rise against the Government.

g. Stepping up transport plans, e.g. a weekly or bi weekly airlift of trainees outside the country in order to maintain a regular, if small flow of trained personnel.

h. In order to facilitate the implementation of the military aspect of the plan it is proposed the National High Command appoint personnel to be quartered at Dar under the auspices of the office there.

PART IV

INTERNAL ORGANISATION

In preparation for the commencement of operations when our external team lands, intensive as well as extensive work will have been done. For instance, guerrilla units will have been set up in the main areas mapped out in Part I above as well as in the other areas away from the immediate scene of operation.

Progressively sabotage activity throughout the country will be stepped up before these operations. Political pressure too, in the meanwhile will be stepped up in conjunction with the sabotage activity.

In furtherance of the general ideas set out above the plan for internal organisation is along the following pattern:

1. Our target is that on arrival the external force should find at least 7,000 men in the four main areas ready to join the guerrilla army in the initial onslaught. Those will be allocated as follows:

a. Eastern Cape - Transkei	2,000
b. Natal - Zululand	2,000
c. North Western Transvaal	2,000
d. North-Western Cape	1,000

2. To realise our target in each of the main areas it is proposed that each of the four areas should have an overall command whose task it will be to divide its area into regions, which in turn will be allocated a figure in proportion to their relative importance.

3. The preparation for equipping the initial force envisaged in I above will take place in three stages, thus:

a. By importation of Military supply at two levels:

i.Build up of firearms, ammunition and explosives by maintaining a regular flow over a period of time.

ii. By landing additional [supplies] simultaneously with the arrival of our external force.

b. Acquisition and accumulation internally of firearms, ammunition and explosives at all levels of our organisation.

c. Collection and accumulation of other military such as food, medicines, communication equipment etc.

4. It is proposed that auxiliary guerrilla/sabotage units in the four main areas be set up before and after the commencement of operations. They may engage in activities that may serve to disperse the enemy forces, assist to maintain the fighting ability of the guerrillas as well as draw in the masses in support of the guerrillas.

5. It is proposed that in areas falling outside the four main guerrilla areas MK units should be set up to act in support of the activities in the guerrilla areas, and to harass the enemy.

6. In order to draw in the masses of the population the political wing should arouse the people to participate in the struggles that are designed to create an upheaval throughout the country.

PART V

DETAILED PLAN OF IMPLEMENTATION

In order to implement the plans set out above in Parts I to III we establish Departments which are to be charged with duties to study and submit detailed reports and plans in respect of each of their Departments with the following terms of reference:

1. *Intelligence Department*

This Committee will be required to study and report on the following:

a. The exact extent of each area

b. The portions of the country that are naturally suited for our operations and their location within each area.

c. Points along the coast which would be suitable for landing of men and supplies and how these are going to be transferred from the point of landing to the area of operations.

d. The situation of enemy forces in each area, thus:

i. the military and the police as well as their strength,

ii. military and police camps, and towns, and the distances between them,

iii. system of all forms of communication in the area,

iv. the location of trading stations and chiefs and headmen's kraals.

v. air fields and air strips in the areas.

e. Selection of targets to be tackled in initial phase of guerrilla operations with a view to causing maximum damage to the enemy as well as preventing the quick deployment of reinforcements. In its study the Committee should bear in mind the following main targets:

i. strategic road, railways and other communications

ii. power stations

iii. police, stations, camps and military forces

iv. irredeemable Government stooges.

f. A study of climatic conditions in relation to seasons, as well as diseases common to the area.

g. The population distribution in the areas as well as the main crops.

h. Rivers and dams.
i. And generally all other relevant matters

2. *External Planning Committee* which shall be charged with the following tasks:
a. Obtaining of arms, ammunition and explosives and other equipment
b. In co-operation with our internal machinery, making arrangements for the despatch of items in I above into the country
c. Obtaining of transport by land, sea and air for the landing of our task force and for the continued supply of military equipment.

3. *Political Authority*
We make a strong recommendation that the joint sponsoring organisations should immediately set about creating a political machinery for the direction of the revolutionary struggle as set out in Nos. 6, 7 and 8 of Part 11 and to set up a special committee to direct guerrilla political education.

4. *Transport Committee.*
This Committee is assigned the following duties:
a.The organisation of transport facilities for our trainees
b.To organise transport for the re entry of our trainees
c.To undertake any transport duties assigned to them from time to time .

5. *Logistics Department — Technical and Supply Committee*
Its Functions are:
a. To manufacture and build up a stock of arms, ammunition from internal sources.
b. To organise reception, distribution and storage of supplies from external sources.
c. To organise the training of personnel in the use of equipment referred to in (a) and (b) above.
d. Obtaining of all other relevant supplies necessary to prosecute an armed struggle, to wit, inter alia, medical supplies, clothing, food, etc., and the storage of these at strategic points.
e. Acquiring equipment to facilitate communications.
f. To undertake all duties and functions that fall under the Department of Logistics.

PART VI

MISCELLANEOUS

1. *Immediate Duties of the National High Command in Relation to the Guerilla Areas:*
a. To map out regions in each area with a view to organising Regional and District Commands and NK [sic] units.
b. To achieve this we strongly recommend the employment of 10 full time organisers in each area.
c. The organisers shall be directly responsible to the National High Command.
d. The NHC is directed to recruit and arrange for the external training of at least 300 men in the next two months.

2. *Personal*
a. *Intelligence* Alex Secundus Otto
b. *External Planning Committee* Johnson, Thabo and Joseph together with a senior ANC rep. as well as co-opted personnel, seconded to us by friendly Govts.
c. *Transport Committee* Percy secundus Nbata.
d. *Logistics Dept.* Bri-bri secundus Frank

3. *Special Directives to Heads of Departments.*
The Heads of Departments are required to submit not later than the 30th May, 1963, plans detailing:

a. The structural organisation of their Department
b. The type and number of personnel they require to be allocated to them and their duties and functions.
c. The funds required for their work both for immediate and long term purposes.
d. Schedule of time required to enable them to fulfill given targets and what these are.
e. Other matters relating to the efficient execution of the Departments' Plans.

4. *Organisation of Areas. Organisers and Setting up of proper Machinery* Rethau and James for this task.

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World Wide Web

The African National Congress (http://www.anc.org.za/)
archival documents, photographs, chronologies, and historical analyses.

The Truth and Reconcilliation Commission (http://www.doj.gov.za/trc/index.html)
transcripts of TRC testimony and amnesty decisions as well as links to other helpful sites.

The Robben Island Museum (http://www.mayibuye.org/)
oral histories, music, documents, photography, film, and historical papers.

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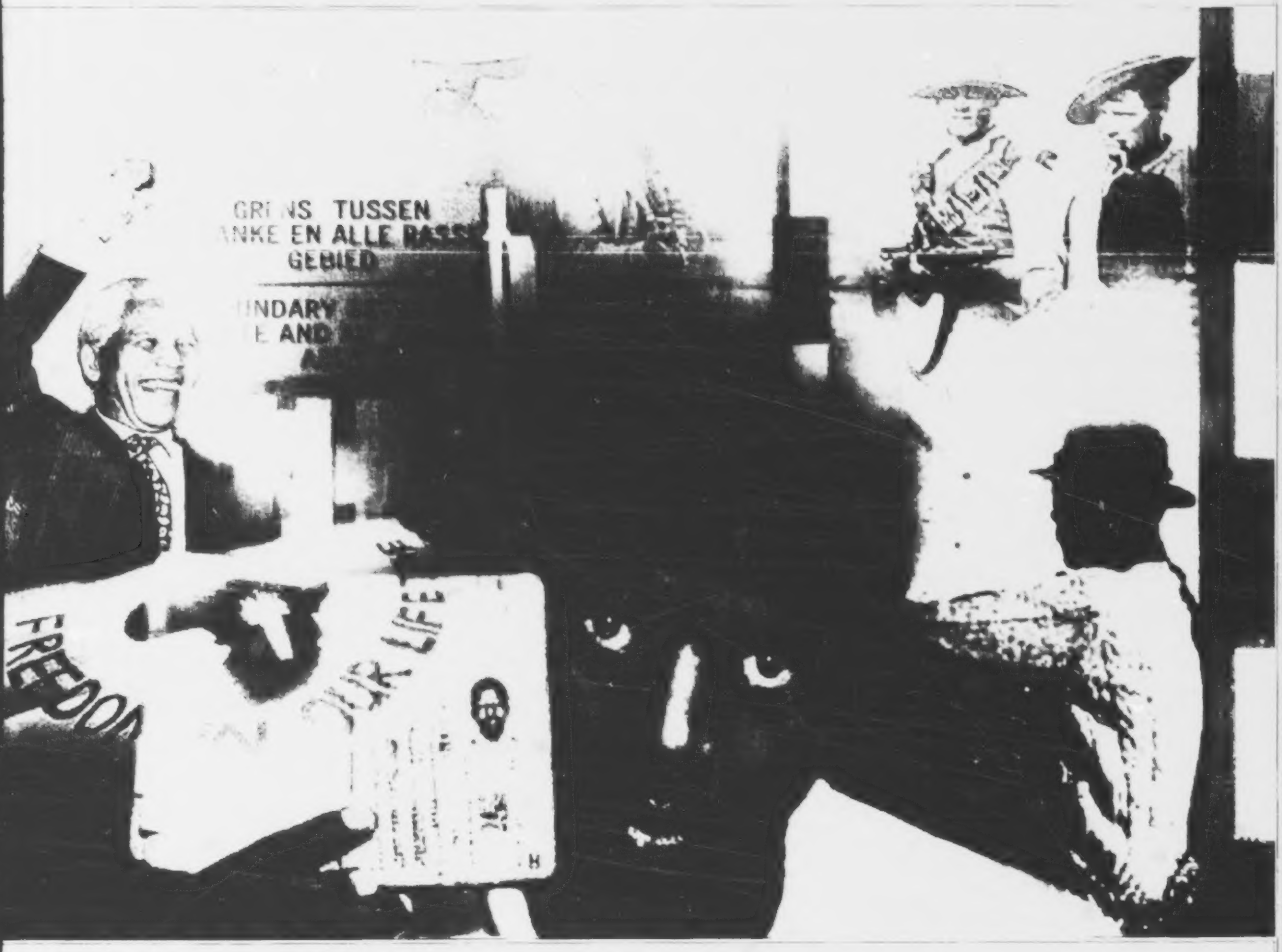
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Freedom in Our Lifetime: South Africa's Struggle was developed by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Program with the assistance of the research staff of the Watson Institute for International Studies, scholars at Brown University, and other experts in the field. We wish to thank the following researchers for their invaluable input into this unit.

Barbara Brown, *Director of Outreach, Center for African Studies, Boston University*

James Campbell, *Associate Professor of Africana Studies, Brown University*

Neta C. Crawford, *Associate Professor (Research), Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University*

Nancy Jacobs, *Associate Professor of Africana Studies and Associate Professor of History, Brown Univeristy*

Newell Stultz, *Professor (Research), Watson Institute for International Studies, and Professor Emeritus of Political Science, Brown Univresity*

Special thanks to Paul Cunningham of Woodstock Academy in Woodstock, Connecticut, for his assistance in developing and writing this unit. Thanks also to Jack Zedlitz of Charlotte Latin School in Charlotte, North Carolina, for his input and advice. We also thank Dave Farrar and the teachers in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, who tested a draft of the unit.

Freedom in Our Lifetime: South Africa's Struggle was made possible with a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Freedom in Our Lifetime: South Africa's Struggle is part of a continuing series of curriculum resources on international public policy issues. New units are published each academic year, and all units are updated regularly.

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August 2003

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Thomas J. Biersteker
Director, Watson Institute for International Studies

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About the Choices Approach

Choices for the 21st Century curricula are designed to make complex international issues understandable and meaningful for students. Using an innovative approach to student-centered instruction, Choices units develop critical thinking and civic judgment—essential ingredients of responsible citizenship.

Understanding the Significance of History: Each Choices unit provides students with a thorough introduction to the topic under consideration. Students gain an understanding of the historical background and the status of current issues. In this way, they see how history has shaped our world. With this foundation, students are prepared to thoughtfully consider a variety of perspectives on public policy.

Exploring Policy Alternatives: Each Choices unit is built around a framework of alternative policy options that challenges students to consider multiple perspectives and to think critically about the issue at hand. Students are best able to understand and analyze the options through a cooperative learning/role-play activity. In groups, students explore their assigned options and plan short presentations. The setting of the role-play may be a Congressional hearing, meeting of the National Security Council, or an election campaign forum. Student groups defend their policy options and, in turn, are challenged with questions from their classmates. The ensuing debate demands analysis and evaluation of the many conflicting values, interests, and priorities reflected in the options.

Exercising Civic Judgment: Armed with fresh insights from the role-play and debate, students are challenged to articulate original, coherent policy options that reflect their own values, priorities, and goals as individuals and citizens. Students' views can be expressed in letters to Congress or the White House, editorials for the school or community newspaper, persuasive speeches, or visual presentations.

Why Use the Choices Approach? Choices curricula are informed by current educational research about how students learn best. Studies have consistently demonstrated that students of all abilities learn best when they are actively engaged with the material rather than listening passively to a lecture. Student-centered instructional activities motivate students and develop higher-order thinking skills. However, some high school educators find the transition from lecture format to student-centered instruction difficult. Lecture is often viewed as the most efficient way to cover the required material. Choices curricula offer teachers a flexible resource for covering course material while actively engaging students and developing skills in critical thinking, persuasive writing, and informed citizenship. The instructional activities that are central to Choices units can be valuable components in any teacher's repertoire of effective teaching strategies. Each Choices unit includes student readings, a framework of policy options, suggested lesson plans, and resources for structuring cooperative learning, role-plays, and simulations. Students are challenged to:

- recognize relationships between history and current issues
- analyze and evaluate multiple perspectives on an issue
- understand the internal logic of a viewpoint
- engage in informed debate
- identify and weigh the conflicting values represented by different points of view
- reflect upon personal values and priorities surrounding an issue
- develop and articulate original viewpoints on an issue
- communicate in written and oral presentations
- collaborate with peers

Teachers who use Choices units say the collaboration and interaction that take place are highly motivating for students. Opportunities abound for students to contribute their individual talents to the group presentations in the form of political cartoons, slogans, posters, or characterizations. These cooperative learning lessons invite students to take pride in their own contributions and the group product, enhancing students' self-esteem and confidence as learners. Choices units offer students with diverse abilities and learning styles the opportunity to contribute, collaborate, and achieve.

Note to Teachers

In 1998, the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission released its initial report on the human rights violations and amnesty hearings which had taken place over the course of three years in towns and cities all across the nation. Both apartheid supporters and apartheid opponents appeared before the Commission to explain how they or their family members were victimized, or how they used violent means to support their cause. The TRC gained world-wide attention for several reasons, one of which was its attempts to hear all sides of the story, and to acknowledge that all sides had engaged in violence.

This unit addresses the development of apartheid, the responses to it, and the decision by some members of the anti-apartheid community to use violence in protest to the government's policies. This question—whether the use of violence against an oppressive regime is justified—has been discussed at length in recent years, often without a clear answer. This unit will introduce students to one instance in which violence was used, and will allow them to consider that question in the South African case.

Freedom in Our Lifetime: South Africa's Struggle presents students with the same questions that opponents of apartheid faced. At the core of the unit is a framework of the three distinct options opponents considered in June, 1961. The background reading is intended to prepare students to consider thoughtfully the complexities of South African society. Part I explores the history of South Africa and the development of a race-based society. Part II discusses the effects of apartheid on individuals, and the challenges the system faced from all fronts. The Epilogue explains the aftermath of apartheid and South Africa's transition to a democratic, multi-racial society.

Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan: The Teacher's Resource Book accompanying *Freedom in Our Lifetime: South Africa's Struggle* contains a day-by-day lesson plan and student activities. The lesson plan opens with a document activity that helps students understand racial tensions in colonial South Africa. The second day of the lesson plan invites students to consider the impact of apartheid laws on individuals through poetry written at the same time. The third and fourth days feature a simulation in which students assume the role of advocates for the three options or of residents in South Africa. Finally, on the fifth day, students consider the use of violence as a form of protest.

- **Alternative Study Guides:** Each section of background reading is accompanied by two distinct study guides. The standard study guide is designed to help students harvest the information provided in the background readings in preparation for tackling analysis and synthesis within classroom activities. The advanced study guide requires the student to tackle analysis and synthesis prior to class activities.

- **Vocabulary and Concepts:** The background reading in *Freedom in Our Lifetime: South Africa's Struggle* addresses subjects that are complex and challenging. To help your students get the most out of the text, you may want to review with them "Key Terms" found in the Teacher's Resource Book (TRB) on page TRB-30 before they begin their assignment. An "Issues Toolbox" is also included on page TRB-31. This provides additional information on key concepts of particular importance to understanding apartheid and its aftermath.

The lesson plans offered in *Freedom in Our Lifetime: South Africa's Struggle* are provided as a guide. They are designed for traditional class periods of approximately 50 minutes. Those on block schedules will need to make adaptations. Many teachers choose to devote additional time to certain activities. We hope that these suggestions help you in tailoring the unit to fit the needs of your classroom.

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Integrating This Unit into Your Curriculum

Units produced by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Program are designed to be integrated into a variety of social studies courses. Below are a few ideas about where *Freedom in Our Lifetime: South Africa's Struggle* might fit into your curriculum.

World History: The African continent is increasingly being studied at the secondary level. South Africa, now a largely peaceful and highly industrialized country, is widely regarded as a success story on the continent. South Africa's current success, however, was preceded by experiences similar to other nations of Africa: imperialism, discrimination, violent oppression, and violent rebellion. The study of the people of South Africa's attempts to create a just and equitable society is, in many ways, echoed across the continent. Additionally, the use of violence as a form of protest is being considered in many contexts today; this unit bridges gaps between history and current events.

Economics: South Africa's shift from a rural, pastoral economy to a highly industrialized nation following the discovery of gold and diamonds offers a case study on the effect of resources on a community. The capitalist system imposed by the British, at the expense of many Africans' way of life, addresses some of the difficulties developing nations have, and also introduces students to the threats cash economies and the need for capital can sometimes have on communities.

Additionally, the downfall of apartheid can in part be explained by the economic stresses the political system in South Africa was facing at the time. Other countries used economic forces—sanctions—to prevent the apartheid system from succeeding, and people inside the country boycotted goods in an effort to bring down apartheid.

Political Science/Government: How can a tiny minority rule over a majority for several hundred years? Students will explore how apartheid grew from a series of loosely connected laws to government policy, as well as how Africans and others responded to these policies. Students will also consider the nature of self-determination and the conflicting arguments for self-determination in a multi-ethnic environment.

Sociology/Anthropology: How do different ethnic groups relate to one another in a modern, multi-ethnic state? The peoples of South Africa are descended from many areas of the world. The national identities of these peoples, shaped by language, religion, and collective experience, often put them in conflict with one another. Their coexistence has only recently become more peaceful. Through a study of pre-apartheid, apartheid, and post-apartheid South Africa, students can trace the ways groups respond to one another and the ways social structures and values change over time. The decisions of individuals addressed in this unit had far-reaching consequences. This unit helps students understand the roles both of one person and of people acting in groups to effect change.

Colonial South Africa—Moshoeshoe, the Boers, and the British

Objectives:

Students will:

- Use primary source material to develop a clearer understanding of the relationship between trekboers and Africans from one African's perspective.
- Understand the consequences of the Great Trek on one African group.
- Compare the Sotho's experience to other African groups.

Required Reading:

Before beginning the unit, students should have read the Introduction and Part I of the background reading in the student text (pages 1-7) and completed "Study Guide—Part I" in the Teacher's Resource Book (TRB 4-5) or the "Advanced Study Guide—Part I" (TRB-6).

Handouts:

- "Letters from Moshoeshoe" (TRB 7-9)

In the Classroom:

1. *Getting Started*—Distribute "Letters from Moshoeshoe" to the class. Divide the class into groups of three or four. Assign each group the task of reading the letters and answering one of the following questions:

- Moshoeshoe recounts several points of friction between the Sotho and the Boers. What historical events described in last night's readings might have led to this friction?
- What was the conflict primarily about? Why do you think it recurred for so many years?
- What was the relationship between the British and the Sotho?
- Would Moshoeshoe have been pleased or angered by the Proclamation of 1868? Why?
- What evidence from Moshoeshoe's letters could you use to explain why the Sotho have been able to maintain a kingdom to this day?

2. *Identifying Key Passages*—After students have completed the questions, call on groups to summarize the conflict between the Sotho and the Boers. What assumptions and values on both sides might have exacerbated the conflict? How did the British respond? The Proclamation of 1868 gave less land to the Sotho than the Napier Treaty of 1843. Why would the British have reduced the size of Moshoeshoe's kingdom? How might the Sotho have responded? Have students look at the map on TRB-7. What characteristics of the region might explain why the Boers wished to settle there?

3. *Drawing Connections*—Remind students of the previous night's readings. The experience of the Sotho is not typical. Ask students to recall what happened to other groups when they came in contact with British or Boer trekkers. Why might the Sotho's experience have been different?

4. *Extra Challenge*—Have students look for primary source documents relating to other African ethnic groups and their relationships to white colonists.

Homework:

Students should read Part II of the background reading in the student text (pages 8-15) and complete "Study Guide—Part II" (TRB-11-12) or the "Advanced Study Guide—Part II" (TRB-13).

Name:

Study Guide—Part I
Precolonial and Colonial South Africa

1. Describe the economic environment of South Africa in pre-colonial times. How did people live and work?

2. Why did the Dutch come to South Africa?

3. How was the Xhosa resistance to whites different from that of the Khoisan?

4. Why was the *Mfecane* so destructive?

5. How did the British change the economic system of the Cape Colony?

Name:

6. List three events or experiences that would later factor into the Afrikaner national identity.

a.

b.

c.

7. Why did Asians come to South Africa?

8. Why did British capitalists need so much cheap labor for the mines?

9. How did the mining industry lead to increased segregation in South Africa?

10. What was the effect of unification on the following communities?

British:

Afrikaners:

Blacks:

Name:

Advanced Study Guide—Part I
Precolonial and Colonial South Africa

1. What effect did the arrival of Europeans in South Africa have on the Africans who lived there?

2. Did the British see their role in South Africa differently from Afrikaners? Explain.

3. Why would successive generations of historians have differing views on the causes and effects of the *Mfecane*? What role does race play in the writing of history?

4. Explain how the Mineral Revolution laid the groundwork for racial segregation in South Africa.

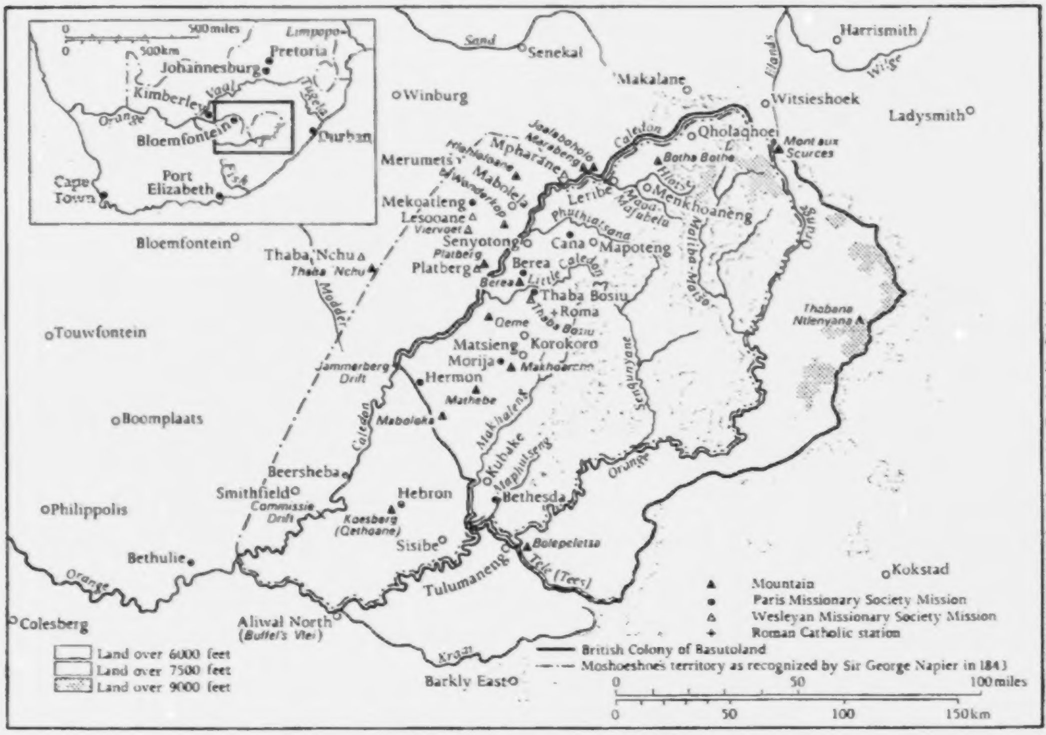
5. Explain the roots of Afrikaner Christian Nationalism.

Name:

Letters from Moshoeshoe

In 1831 Moshoeshoe (pronounced mo-SHWE-shwe) became the leader of the Sotho (pronounced SOO-too) people in eastern South Africa. Moshoeshoe was respected by his African neighbors and followers and was able to build up a large kingdom as a result of his political strengths. He sent some of his sons to Cape Town for education, and invited missionaries from France to establish a mission station on Sotho land, but was careful also to cultivate a traditional Sotho cultural base among his people. During this time period the Sotho were frequently in conflict with trekboers and looked to the British for mediation and support. In 1843 the British government at the Cape and Moshoeshoe signed the Napier Treaty which created borders around Moshoeshoe's land area (see map). In return for keeping the peace in the area and cooperating with the British government, Moshoeshoe would receive 75 pounds annually from the British. Later, the 1868 Proclamation annexed Moshoeshoe's kingdom under British control, and the Sotho became British subjects. The boundaries of that Proclamation marked the borders of Basutoland (Lesotho), which still exist today. The Kingdom of Lesotho is an independent nation completely surrounded by South Africa. Descendants of Moshoeshoe still hold the throne.

The following excerpts from letters and treaties written by Moshoeshoe and British leaders at the Cape Colony describe the relationship between the Sotho and the British and Boer colonists. After reading the selections, answer your assigned question. Be prepared to share your group's answer with the class. Refer to the background readings as necessary.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Harrismith
Wilge
Winburg
Makalane
Witsieshoek
Ladysmith
Caledon
Qholaqhoei
Mont aux Sources
Botha Bothe
Merumetsu
Mpharane
Mabolela
Mekoatleng
Lesooane
Vierfoet
Leribe
Hlotse
Menkhoaneng
Phuthiatsana
Senyotong
Cana
Mapoteng
Platberg
Berea
Thaba Nchu
Bloemfontein
Modder
Thaba Bosiu
Roma
Qeme
Matsieng
Korokoro
Morija
Makhoarane
Hermon
Mathebe
Maboloka
Thabana Ntlenyana
Touwfontein
Jammerberg Drift
Boomplaats
Senqunyane
Makhaleng
Kubake
Maphutseng
Beersheba
Smithfield
Commissie Drift
Hebron
Koesberg (Qethoane)
Bethesda
Philippolis
Sisibe
Bolepeletsa
Bethulie
Orange
Tulumaneng
Tele (Tees)
Kokstad
Colesberg
Aliwal North (Buffel's Vlei)
Kraai
Barkly East
Land over 6000 feet
Land over 7500 feet
Land over 9000 feet
Mountain
Paris Missionary Society Mission
Wesleyan Missionary Society Mission
Roman Catholic station
British Colony of Basutoland
Moshoeshoe's territory as recognized by Sir George Napier in 1843
0 50 100 miles
0 50 100 150km

Lesotho and vicinity at the time of Moshoeshoe.

reproduced with permission from *Survival in Two Worlds*, Oxford

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Name:

Letter from Moshoeshoe to the Secretary of the Cape Colony, 1845

The selling or renting of land has been hitherto a practice wholly unknown to us.... Our system is that whenever people wish to establish themselves on unoccupied spots, they apply to the principal chief of the country for permission.... As long as the people choose to remain on the spot it is considered as theirs, but whenever they move another party may come and take possession.... I could not, according to the custom of my tribe, alienate any portion of my territory without consent of my people....

I cannot...ascertain the exact number of the Boers now within my territory.... From their first appearance till now I have never ceased to warn them that I viewed them as passers-by, and although I did not refuse the temporary hospitality, I could never allow them any right of property.... I...warned them more generally not to consider any part of my country as their own....

Letter from Moshoeshoe to High Commissioner of the Cape Colony, June, 1858

Your Excellency—

It may scarcely appear necessary to lay before Your Excellency any lengthened details of what has taken place between the Orange Free State [established by trekboers] and myself. I know that you have followed with interest the transactions which have led to the commencement of hostilities, and you have heard with pain the horrors occasioned by the war....

People who had come from the [Cape] Colony first presented themselves to us, they called themselves Boers. I thought all white men were honest. Some of these Boers asked permission to live upon our borders. I was led to believe they would live with me as my own people lived; that is, looking to me as a father and a friend.

About sixteen years since, one of the Governors of the Colony, Sir George Napier, marked down my limits on a treaty he made with me. The Boers then began to talk of their right to places I had then lent to them....

He [the next governor, Harry Smith] said the Whites and Blacks were to live together in peace.... I now hear that the Boers consider all those farms as their own, and were buying and selling them one to the other, and driving out by one means or another my own people.

In vain I remonstrated [to the Cape Colony government].....

It is not the custom of Basutos [Sotho] to speak much of their real feelings.... They soon show by actions when they are dissatisfied. Seeing the Boers determined to encroach upon the land, they became restless and some took advantage of the angry feeling to carry off cattle and horses. This system I did not approve, when therefore lists were sent to me of stolen property, although very incorrect and injust, I still ordered a collection to be made, equivalent to the property said to have been lost and the fine imposed on us in consequence.

The Boers were not satisfied with this.....

I tried my utmost to satisfy them and avert war. I punished thieves, and sent my son...to check stealing,... but the Boers went further and further day by day in troubling the Basutos and threatening war.... Still I tried to avert war.

It was not possible. It was commenced by the Boers in massacring my people of Beersheba, and ruining that station.... Poor people, they thought their honesty and love for Christianity would be a shield for them, and that the white people would attack in the first place, if they attacked at all, those who they said were thieves. I ordered my people then all to retreat towards my residence, and let the fury of the Boers be spent on an empty land; unfortunately some skirmishes took place, some Boers were killed, some of my people also. We need not wonder at this, such is war! I will speak of many Basutos who were taken prisoners by the Whites and then killed, most cruelly.

My bands were getting ready to make a descent upon them [the Boers] when the Boers thought proper to make request for a cessation of hostilities. I knew what misery I should bring upon the country by leaving the Basutos to ravage the Boer places, and therefore I have agreed [to the request]. I cannot say that I do so without the consent of my people, for many of those who suffered by the enemy were anxious to recover their losses.

If they have remained quiet, it has been owing to my persuasions and my promises that they might have a good hope of justice, your Excellency having consented to act as arbitrator between the Boers and Basutos. With the expectation of soon meeting you, I remain, etc.,

Mark X of Moshesh

Moshoeshoe's letter to President Brand (of Free State) July 9, 1867

Sir,

I have received your letter of 26th June....

Last year we made peace with you. I gave you 5000 head of cattle, but I have not given this country away; it belongs to me....

If I remove the Basutos, I have nowhere I can establish them. Although I do not like war and am afraid of its consequent horrors, I cannot consent to buy the lives of my people with the country belonging to them, where they were born, where their forefathers were born likewise....

In case you are a Chief liking his people, and knowing what is his duty as a leader who calls himself a Christian, I must beg of you to let the Boers know that they must remain where they are, in the Free State; there is no other way to keep the peace.

(signed) Moshesh, chief of the Basutos

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Photograph of Moshoeshoe taken on August 19, 1860, when he was about seventy-four years old.

Chronology

c.1785	Birth of Moshoeshoe
1806	British annex Cape Colony
c.1824	Moshoeshoe establishes capital on Thaba Bosiu (see map)
1833	First missionaries from Paris arrive
1843	Napier Treaty
1848	British annex area between Vaal and Orange Rivers as Orange River Sovereignty
1854	British withdraw from Orange River Sovereignty and give control to local whites
1858	War between the (Boer-controlled) Orange Free State and the Sotho
1865	Orange Free State attacks the Sotho
1868	British annex Sotho land
1870	Moshoeshoe dies

Primary source material compiled from *Sources of the African Past*, Robinson and Smith, 1979. Original documents located at Basutoland Records.

Day 2

Poetry and Politics

Objectives:

Students will:

- Explore the relationship between political events and literature.
- Compare and contrast 1950s poetry from black South Africa.
- Evaluate the impact of the Sharpeville massacre on blacks in South Africa.

Required Reading:

Students should have read Part II of the background reading in the student text (pages 8-15) and completed "Study Guide—Part II" in the Teacher's Resource Book (TRB-11-12) or the "Advanced Study Guide—Part II" (TRB-13).

Handouts:

- "1950s Protest Poetry"

In the Classroom:

1. *Essential Question*—Write the following statement from the handout on the board: "Literature in Africa cannot but be political." Ask students to consider the role of literature in political protest, and, vice-versa, how politics can influence writers. Can students think of examples of American literature that address political themes? Remind students that anti-apartheid works were often banned in South Africa, and that writers frequently lived in exile.

2. *Group Responses*—Form eight groups of students (or fewer, if you have a smaller class) and assign each group one of the poems from the handout. Ask students to consider the questions in relation to their assigned poem.

3. *Drawing Connections*—The events at Sharpeville are often considered by literary critics to mark a turning point in South African literature. Ask students to recall the events at Sharpeville as described in the student text. What happened? How might that massacre have changed the way people wrote about their situation? If time permits, ask students to compare the post-Sharpeville poem with the others in the collection. How do they differ?

Extra Challenge:

Have students research the works of one of South Africa's banned or exiled writers.

Homework:

Students should read "June 1961: The Moment of Decision" in the student text (page 16) and "Options in Brief" (page 17).

Name:

Study Guide—Part II
Apartheid and its Opposition

1. How did blacks, coloureds, and Asians protest the increased restrictions placed on them in the early years of the Union? Give three examples.

a.

b.

c.

2. How did Gandhi influence South Africans?

3. Fill in the following chart.

Act	Year implemented	Purpose of Act
Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act		
Population Registration Act		
Group Areas Act		
Suppression of Communism Act		

Day 2

Name:

4. What was the purpose of the Defiance Campaign?

5. How did the government respond to the Freedom Charter?

6. What did the Alexandra bus boycott show both apartheid supporters and protestors?

7. Why were PAC leaders unhappy with the ANC? Give three reasons.

a.

b.

c.

8. Why did the protest at Sharpeville become violent? Was someone at fault? Explain.

Name:

Advanced Study Guide—Part II
Apartheid and its Opposition

1. Pick two laws discussed in this section. Explain how they drew upon earlier segregationist policies and furthered the cause of apartheid. What part of the system was each designed to uphold?

2. What methods did the various anti-apartheid groups use to protest the government? Which were most successful?

3. Was the Freedom Charter a "revolutionary document," as Mandela claimed? Why or why not? (The full text of the Charter is in the "Supplementary Documents" section of the Student Text.)

4. What were the different visions for South Africa of the ANC and PAC? How did each plan to achieve its goals?

5. Sharpeville is seen as a turning point in South African history. Why do you think this is so?

Name:

1950s Protest Poetry

"Literature in Africa cannot but be political."
Femi Ojo-Ade, literary critic

In the 1950s black and coloured literature in South Africa grew enormously as the anti-apartheid movement developed breadth and strength. The following poems, written between 1949-1960, reflect a range of responses to the apartheid government and to the effects of apartheid on everyday life. As you examine your assigned selection, consider the questions below. Be prepared to share the conclusions of your group with your classmates.

1. What was happening politically and economically in South Africa at the time the poem was written?
2. What does the poem describe? What events or scenes does it portray?
3. What is the mood of the poem? Is it resigned, angry, hopeful, etc? Remember that poems are meant to be read aloud. You may wish to read your poem aloud with your group.
4. How does the poem envision the future? What does your poem suggest will happen to race relations in South Africa?

Selection 1

REMEMBER SHARPEVILLE

Dennis Brutus (c.1960)

What is important
about Sharpeville
is not that seventy died:
nor even that they were shot in the back
retreating, unarmed, defenseless

and certainly not
the heavy caliber slug
that tore through a mother's back
and ripped into the child in her arms
killing it.

Remember Sharpeville
bullet-in-the-back day

Because it epitomized oppression
and the nature of society
more clearly than anything else;
it was the classic event

Nowhere is racial dominance
more clearly defined
nowhere the will to oppress
more clearly demonstrated

what the world whispers
apartheid declares with snarling guns
the blood the rich lust after
South Africa spills in the dust

Remember Sharpeville
Remember bullet-in-the-back day

And remember the unquenchable will for freedom
Remember the dead and be glad

Name: ______________________

Selection 2 ______________________

WHERE THE RAINBOW ENDS

Richard Rive (1955)

Where the rainbow ends,
There's going to be a place brother,
Where the world can sing all sorts of songs,
And we're going to sing together, brother,
You and I,
Though you're White and I'm not.
It's going to be a sad song, brother,
'Cause we don't know the tune,
And it's a difficult tune to learn,
But we can learn it, brother,
You and I,
There's no such tune as a Black tune,
There's no such tune as a White tune,
There's only music, brother,
And it's music we're going to sing,
Where the rainbow ends.

Selection 3 ______________________

A GAME OF GUESSING

G.M. Kolisang (1958)

I adjusted my tie and put on my hat,
And walked out of my rusty shanty home.
I caught the 8.30 a.m. Booth Camp bus.
I heard the street clock strike nine,
Entered an elegant, stately shop.
'Yes, John. What do you want?'
Amiably said the lady behind the counter.
'How,' I asked, 'did you know my name, Madam?'
I in return, did courteously ask,
Thoroughly satisfied by her amazing ingenuity.
'Oh! Of course I guessed it,' was her positive reply.
'Then, Madam, you are, I am convinced, surely capable
Of guessing what it is I want.'

Selection 4 ______________________

BECAUSE I'M BLACK

Herbert Dhlomo (1949)

Because I'm black
You think I lack
The talents, feelings and ambitions
That others have;
You do not think I crave positions
That others crave.

Psychology
And Zoology
Have proved that Race and blood are a fiction…
All men are Man;
Diversity means not disunion—
It is God's plan;
White blood and black in test transfusions
Answer the same.
They harbour childish vain delusions
Who better claim.

Because the people eat and sing
And mate,
You do not see their suffering.
You rate
Them fools
And tools
Of those with power and boastful show;
Not fate, but fault, as made things so—
Beware! The people, struggling, hold
The winning card;
And when they strike they will be bold—
And will strike hard!

Name:

Selection 5

THE GOD OF FORMAL WAYS

Ezekiel Mphahlele (1950)

I made a god,
And now he rules with iron rod;
I worship in his formal ways,
His name I praise

I swear and lie
To them and my own self—to buy
A nod of favour and approval—
Still so formal!

He must implore,
While knocking at compassion's door;
I show him, yet within's despise—
Such form is vice!

My beaming smile
Is just to aid my flatt'ring style
The mirthless laugh a social stunt
Not to be blunt.

O God of Form,
You baffle reason, lull the storm
Of passion, and the pain of truth
You lie to soothe!

Made by me,
You split me into two, and see!
I sweat and chafe against your chains;
I've lost my brains!

You know it well—
I'd crush your power and break your spell,
You know I may not just decide-
There lies my pride!

Selection 6

THE CONTRACTION AND ENCLOSURE OF LAND

St. J. Page Yako (1958) translated from the Xhosa

Thus spake the heirs of the land
Although it is no longer ours.
This land will be folded like a blanket
Till it is like the palm of a hand.
The racing ox will become entangled in the wire,
Too weak to dance free, it will be worn out by the
dance of the yoke and the plough.
They will crowd us together like tadpoles
In a calabash ladle. Our girls
Will have their lobola* paid with paper,
Coins that come and go, come and go.
Blood should not be spilled, so they say
Nowadays, to unite the different peoples,
Until we no longer care for each other,
As a cow licks her calf, when love
And nature urge her to do so.
Can money bring people together?
Yes, a man may have words with his son's wife,
His son need no longer respect her mother.

Yes, we fold up our knees,
It's impossible to stretch out,
Because the land has been hedged in.

---

*lobola = bride price, dowry

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Name:

Selection 7

RISE UP

Desmond Dhlomo (1955)

Oh land of warrior bold and brave!
Where once you did your spearheads wield
Your own dear land you strove to save
Now crumpled down, and do you yield?

O Chaka[1] great thy name I fear;
How like a god you strode this strand;
I praise you and this land once dear
Where once you strode with Black war band.

And I poor son, from your dust rise
And seek once more a once-dear land
—No assegais[2] nor war-like cries—
But crave on earth a worthy stand.

Rise up! swarthy Chaka's train,
'Tis time that you should show in deed
That you be brave, have evils slain
And love and peace you seek to breed.

Rise up! 'tis not by magic hand
You'll win a name in lands abroad
But through great toil and trusty stand
You'll live as if all time afford.

[1] Chaka = Shaka, a Zulu king famous for his military skill

[2] Throwing spears used by Zulu warriors

Selection 8

HOW LONG, O GOD?

Walter N.B. Nhlapo (1950)

Burst forth my heart complaining
Yours can't be joyful song.
Sorrows you have been restraining
Within yourself for long!

Like flame let your feeling's flower
Cry aloud, let earth hear
Your mighty voice with all its power,
Tell the pains of many a year.

I'm black but I'm kingly, and even
God knows; a slave I cry,
And for fatherland grieving;
And stars shed tears in the sky.

God! must my tears flow forever?
Hear me in my tears
before I cross Lethe river*
To land of no fears.

*The legendary Lethe River erases the memory of those who cross it.

Role-Playing the Three Options: Organization and Preparation

Objectives:

Students will:

- Analyze the issues that framed the debate about the next steps for the anti-apartheid campaign.
- Identify the core assumptions underlying the options.
- Integrate the arguments and beliefs of the options and the background reading into a persuasive, coherent presentation.
- Work cooperatively within groups to organize effective presentations.

Required Reading:

Students should have read "June, 1961: The Moment of Decision" in the background reading in the student text (page 16) and "Options in Brief" (page 17)

Handouts:

- "Presenting Your Option" (TRB-19) for option groups
- "Cape Township Residents" (TRB-20-22) for remaining students

In the Classroom:

1. *Planning for Group Work*—In order to save time in the classroom, form student groups before beginning Day Three. During the class period, students will be preparing for the Day Four simulation. Remind them to incorporate the background reading into their presentations and questions.

2a. *Option Groups*—Form three groups of four students each. Assign an option to each group. Distribute "Presenting Your Option" to the three option groups. Inform students that each option group will be called upon in Day Four to present the case for its assigned option to the president. Explain that option groups should follow the instructions in "Presenting Your Option." Note that the option groups should begin by assigning each member a role (students may double up). Ask the option groups to design a poster or a political cartoon illustrating the best case for their options.

2b. *Cape Township Residents*—Distribute "Cape Township Residents—The Future of Anti-Apartheid Protesting" to each remaining student, and assign him or her one of the roles. (In smaller classes, students may assume more than one role; in larger classes, two students may be assigned to one role.) While the option groups are preparing their presentations, students playing the township residents should develop cross-examination questions for Day Four. Remind these students that they are expected to turn in their questions at the end of the simulation.

Homework:

Students should complete preparations for the simulation.

Name:

Presenting Your Option

Preparing Your Presentation

The Setting: It is June, 1961. Just over a year ago police at Sharpeville opened fire on unarmed demonstrators, killing 69 people. Our anti-apartheid organizations have since been banned, although we have continued to lead successful protests against the government.

Your Assignment: Your group represents a point of view within the anti-apartheid movement. Your assignment is to persuade the residents of some Cape townships that your option should be the basis for future anti-apartheid protesting. On Day Four, your group will be called upon to present a persuasive three-to-five minute summary of your option to the residents. You will be judged on how well you present your option. This worksheet will help you prepare.

Organizing Your Group: Each member of your group will take a specific role. Below is a brief explanation of the responsibility of each role. Before preparing your sections of the presentation, work together to address the questions below. The **group director** is responsible for organizing the presentation of your group's option to the Cape township residents. The **domestic political expert** is responsible for explaining why your option is most likely to succeed in the current domestic climate. The **international political expert** is responsible for explaining why your option is most likely to succeed given the international opposition to apartheid. The **historian** is responsible for explaining how the lessons of history justify your group's option.

Consider the following questions as you prepare your presentation:

1. What will be the impact of your option on future casualties in the struggle?

2. How will the international community respond to the policies of your option?

3. What future South Africa does your option envision?

4. What does your option consider have been the successes in the struggle to this point?

5. How does your option view the leadership role of the various anti-apartheid groups?

6. How will the apartheid government respond to actions taken as a result of your option?

Name:

Cape Township Residents
The Future of Anti-Apartheid Protesting

Your Role

You have been called upon to express the concerns of a resident of a Cape area township in June, 1961. You are meeting at night, in secret, as gatherings in public are forbidden. Some of you have traveled quite a distance, as the townships are segregated. You are considering issues vital to our country's future. The struggle for rights for our people has been going on for over fifty years. These presentations will introduce you to three distinct approaches for the future of the anti-apartheid movement. You are expected to evaluate each of the options from the perspective of the role you have been assigned.

Your Assignment

While the three option groups are organizing their presentations, each of you should prepare two questions regarding each of the options from the perspective of your assigned resident. The questions should reflect the values, concerns, and interests of your role. Your teacher will collect these questions at the end of Day Four.

Your questions should be challenging and critical. For example, a good question for Option 1 from Sipho Mphalane might be:

Isn't it irresponsible to place our people in positions we know are dangerous without providing them the means to fight back?

On Day Four, the three option groups will present their positions. After their presentations are completed, your teacher will call on you and the other residents to ask questions. The "Evaluation Form" you will receive is designed for you to record your impressions of the option. After this activity is concluded, you may be called upon to explain your evaluation of the options.

Cape Township Residents

Samuel Mqikela—You are a forty-year-old black, Christian man who is an anti-Communist. You have a wife and four teenaged children with whom you live in your one-bedroom home. You work as a gardener and driver for a liberal white family, and you travel one and a half hours each way by bus to your employer's home each day. You are lucky that your employers pay you enough to provide for your family. Your wife stays home to take care of the children and the house. Your children are in school, but you are concerned that they are learning little that will help them later in life. You want them to grow up in a free society, but it is beginning to look, to you, like that will not be possible for them.

Joseph Gwendla—You are a twenty-year-old coloured student who has attended a few political meetings about the struggle and you watched part of the huge PAC march in Capetown. One parent and two siblings live on the Xhosa homeland where there is little land on which to grow crops. The rest of your family was classified coloured, like you. Those in Xhosaland are counting on you to get a good job, perhaps as a lawyer for a black or Indian firm, so that you can send them money. You want to work hard at school but have difficulty finding a place to study that has enough quiet and electricity. You have heard that your younger brother, who is seventeen, has been talking about fighting whites using guns, and you are concerned for his safety.

Sipho Mphalane—You are a fifty-three-year-old black canning factory worker who is an active member of the trade union. You have organized protests and you have strong connections to the ANC leadership and some members of the South African Communist Party. Since the Suppression of Communism Act, however, you have had to be very careful about organizing protests. Other laws now prevent you from striking and make it very difficult to negotiate for higher wages or any other concessions. You have effectively been silenced. Wages have been decreasing in comparison to inflation. Many of your fellow union members have been agitating for additional action, and you are concerned that their energy will spin out of control, causing mass riots, or worse.

Chapal Haffajee—You are a thirty-four-year-old Indian shop owner who believes in a non-racial South Africa. You have supported the SAIC and the ANC over the years, and you hope that your efforts will continue to bear fruit. You believe strongly in the teachings of Gandhi, and you are keen to use your connections to help end apartheid. You are worried, however, that some black youths have been calling for a boycott of your store, and if the store were to fail you would be destitute. You thus want changes to happen much more quickly so that everyone can get along, and your livelihood will not be threatened. You are not sure that the mass protests are working.

Mxolisi Ngani—You are a sixteen-year-old black student who is fed up with how little has been accomplished in the past couple of years. The adults seem only to want to talk and talk. You want to be part of the change. Your uncle died in prison a couple of years ago, and you are not satisfied with the explanation that he hanged himself. You have been talking with some of your peers and one of them has managed to steal a hand grenade. You know that if you did anything that you might end up in jail, or worse. But you are beginning to wonder if all this doing nothing is the worst of all. At least if you took action, maybe throwing the grenade into the police station, you would feel like part of something.

Sindiwe Mshengu—You are a forty-eight-year-old black mother of five who works as a maid for a conservative, Afrikaner Member of Parliament. The MP's wife is very strict with you and has accused you of stealing from her, which makes you angry. Your first daughter, who is fourteen, is in charge of caring for her younger siblings as you spend most nights sleeping in the maid's room at your employer's house. She comes to visit occasionally after school and to ask for money so she can buy food or clothing for the children. You never seem to have enough to give her, and you are sad not to see your children grow up. When you were younger you participated in peaceful protests, but now you question whether they had any effect.

Chaka Mthembu—You are a twenty-eight-year-old man whose family lives in the rural Zulu homeland. You have traveled illegally to neighboring Mozambique, where you met a former member of Mau Mau, the Kenyan resistance movement. You were very impressed by that man's dedication to a purely African nation, soon to be run by Africans. The man recounted that the secret fighting for Mau Mau had caused great fear in whites, because they never knew when the next lethal attack would be. The whites in Kenya responded to that, and now Kenya is on its way toward independence. You are looking forward to an opportunity to fight against the whites in South Africa, and show them that a Zulu can again incite fear.

Looksmart Sethwala—You are thirty-six-year-old Sotho man who is unemployed. One of your cousins was killed at the Sharpeville protests. You have no family living with you in the township, but you rent a room from another family. You will not be able to pay the rent next week as you have no more money, and you are sure they will have to toss you out. You really feel like the apartheid system is set on destroying everything you are trying to make for yourself. You know a couple of white people whom you met while working as a waiter in a white restaurant. They came often and were nice to you, and sometimes whispered about ideas they had about overthrowing the government. You'd like to find them again, but you don't want to do anything that would end up hurting someone.

Elisabeth Hugo—You are a twenty-five-year-old coloured woman who is a journalist and writer. You keep tabs on everything that is going on politically, and you are well aware of what you consider to be betrayals and deception employed by the government. Your husband is not often home at night, because he is attending political meetings. You have no children, but you are friendly with a number of people from different racial backgrounds. Some of your friends have been detained for days at a time, and you have reported their stories in an underground newspaper. You are concerned that the protests, in which you have participated in the past, are not effective any more. You want to have children, but are waiting until you feel they will be able to grow up in a free country.

Ernest Mbovane—You are a seventy-one-year-old black grandfather of fifteen who attended the Congress of the People in 1955. You were much impressed by the speeches of various leaders, and you have been able to read some writings of others around the world who believe in peaceful protest, like Martin Luther King in the United States. You used to work as a janitor in a university, where you overheard conversations about political action. You have taught your children and grandchildren to be respectful and polite, no matter what. You believe that people are, at root, good, and that it is important to do unto others as you would have them do unto you. You know there are many peaceful methods to use to defeat apartheid, and you believe that you will see freedom in your lifetime.

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Role-Play and Discussion

Objectives:

Students will:

- Analyze the issues that framed the debate on the future of anti-apartheid protesting.
- Sharpen rhetorical skills through debate and discussion.
- Cooperate with classmates in staging a persuasive presentation.

Handouts:

- "Evaluation Form: Cape Town Residents" (TRB-24)

In the Classroom:

1. *Setting the Stage*—Organize the room so that the three option groups face a row of desks reserved for the residents. Distribute "Evaluation Form" to each resident.

2. *Managing the Simulation*—Explain that the simulation will begin with three-to-five minute presentations by each option group. Encourage all to speak clearly and convincingly.

3. *Guiding Discussion*—Following the presentations, invite residents of the township to ask cross-examination questions. Make sure that each member of this group has an opportunity to ask at least one question. If time permits, encourage members of the option groups to challenge the positions of the other groups. During cross-examination, allow any member of the option group to respond. (As an alternative approach, permit cross-examination following the presentation of each option.)

4. *Clarifying*—After the role-play, explain to students that it was unlikely that such a discussion could have taken place in South Africa in 1961. Because group meetings were illegal, leaders were imprisoned or banned from communicating with followers, and because different races lived so far apart, it would most likely have been impossible for such a large, multi-racial, multi-aged group to convene in one place.

Homework:

Students should read the Epilogue in the student text (pages 27-32) and complete "Study Guide—Epilogue" (TRB-26-27) or the "Advanced Study Guide—Epilogue" (TRB-28).

Name:

Evaluation Form
Cape Township Residents

Instructions: Answer the questions below from the perspective of your assigned role.

1. According to each option, what has been the effect of anti-apartheid protesting up to this point?

   Option 1:

   Option 2:

   Option 3:

2. According to each option, what method should now be adopted to continue the struggle?

   Option 1:

   Option 2:

   Option 3:

3. How would you and your family be affected by the proposed course of action of each option?

   Option 1:

   Option 2:

   Option 3:

4. Which of the three options would you support most strongly? Explain your reasoning.

Violence as Protest

Objectives:

Students will:

- Understand their own perspectives on the use of violence as a means to an end.
- Consider the morality of and values involved in the armed struggle against apartheid.
- Analyze the effectiveness of the use of violence to protest apartheid.
- Compare the situation in South Africa with other movements involving violence.

Required Reading:

Students should have read the Epilogue in the student text (pages 27-32) and completed "Study Guide—Epilogue" in the Teacher's Resource Book (TRB-26-27) or the "Advanced Study Guide—Epilogue" (TRB-28).

Handouts:

- "Values and Political Action" (TRB-29)

In the Classroom:

1. *Understanding Personal Values*—Distribute one handout to each student. Ask students to complete Parts I and II of the handout on their own, based on their own values and perspectives.

2. *Sharing Viewpoints*—Instruct each student to find a classmate whose placement on the spectrum is far removed from their own, and ask partners to explain their spectrum placement to each other. Encourage students to challenge their partner's position. As an alternative, for classes where such discussion might be difficult for students, have them write a journal entry about their own placement on the spectrum. They might also write about the value trade-offs they considered while doing Part I.

3. *Reviewing the History*—Have students return to their seats. Ask students to recall the events addressed in the Epilogue in the student text. What role did MK, *Poqo,* and later armed struggles play in the dismantling of apartheid? Was violent protest effective? Was non-violent protest effective? Note that scholars and participants disagree on this issue. In the case of South Africa in 1961, was armed struggle justified?

4. *Exploring Connections*—Call on students to consider the use of violence in other situations they may have studied, such as Northern Ireland, Israel/Palestine, the American Revolution, and Osama bin Laden's call to arms against the West. How are these conflicts similar to that in South Africa? How are they different? Is armed struggle ever acceptable? If so, when? What kind?

Name:

Study Guide—Epilogue

1. What methods of resistance did the following groups adopt in 1961?

ANC:

PAC:

SAIC:

2. Give two examples of new laws passed after anti-apartheid protesters turned to violence.

3. Who was Steve Biko? What did the Black Consciousness Movement advocate?

4. Why did students in Soweto launch a demonstration in 1976?

5. List two ways the economic situation made apartheid difficult to maintain.

a.

b.

Name:

6. How did the international community respond to apartheid in the 1980s?

7. Why did de Klerk release Mandela?

8. What were the goals of the TRC?

9. List three challenges facing South Africa today.

a.

b.

c.

Name:

Advanced Study Guide—Epilogue

1. Explain the different actions the anti-apartheid groups took in 1961 to continue their protests.

2. What was Black Consciousness, and how did it fill the leadership void after the Rivonia Trial?

3. Trace the relationship between economic pressures and the end of apartheid in the 1980s and '90s.

4. Why do you think some people were still angry following Mandela's release?

5. How did the TRC hope to rebuild South Africa?

Name:

Values and Political Action

The values we hold shape our individual characters. Likewise, a political or social group can be said to have a character reflecting the shared values of its members. Like most people, you probably do not talk much about values. Yet values will play a central role in the critical decisions that you will make in your lifetime. The most difficult decisions in life often come when circumstances require that one value has to be sacrificed for another. For instance, Nelson Mandela chose to stay in jail in 1985 rather than accept an offer of release with the condition that he would renounce the armed struggle. He sacrificed his freedom for his belief that armed struggle would help to dismantle apartheid.

Part I

In your opinion, what tactic was the most appropriate way to respond to the situation in South Africa in 1961? Place yourself somewhere on the spectrum.

1 = Nonviolent resistance
3 = Organized sabotage against government buildings and the like
5 = Random guerrilla attacks against leaders, collaborators, and other whites

1 3 5

Part II

Now consider other situations, and rate each of the following statements according to your personal values. Imagine situations in which you are forced to choose between two conflicting values.

1=Strongly Support
2=Support
3=Oppose
4=Strongly Oppose

____ Leaders of political organizations have an obligation to protect their members from harm.

____ When faced with violent oppression, it is acceptable to use any means to end the oppression.

____ "Arms are the most dangerous things that a dictator, a tyrant, needs to fear."

____ "The ultimate weakness of violence is that it is a descending spiral begetting the very thing it seeks to destroy. Instead of diminishing evil, it multiplies it."

____ Leaders are responsible for the actions of their followers.

____ Sabotage is the only acceptable form of violence to use against an oppressive government.

____ Nonviolent resistance takes more courage than violent resistance.

____ "Nonviolence is a tactic that must be abandoned when it no longer works."

____ Violent regimes will only listen to violent resistance.

____ Armed resistance is acceptable when all other options have been exhausted.

____ Killing people is never justified.

Key Terms

Introduction and Part I

- hunter-gatherer
- pastoralist
- cultivation
- chiefdom/chieftancy
- descendant
- indigenous group
- colony
- free laborer
- trekboer
- covenant
- indentured servant
- capital
- migrant labor
- detained
- scorched-earth campaign
- guerrilla tactics
- concentration camp
- treaty
- self-governance
- voting rights
- unification

Part II

- industry
- strike
- ethnic rivalry
- armed resistance
- mass mobilization
- passbook
- trade union
- servile
- boycott
- civil disobedience
- solidarity
- separate development
- homeland
- pandering
- multi-racial
- disillusioned

Epilogue

- sabotage
- diplomatic isolation
- collaborator
- entrenchment
- emancipation
- amnesty
- reparation

Issues Toolbox

Nationalism: A strong devotion to one's people and country. Afrikaners developed a sense of nationalism based on religion, language, and ethnicity during the Great Trek and as a result of hardships experienced during the South African War. PAC members also used a kind of nationalism, Africanism, to unite black Africans in the struggle against apartheid.

Self-determination: The right of a people to govern their own affairs. Black South Africans, for the most part, were not able to have a significant role in the political affairs of South Africa during apartheid. The apartheid government did create homelands for blacks, which were meant to serve as areas where blacks could exercise self-determination and administer their own affairs. These constructed entities, however, had the effect of cutting blacks off entirely from the political development of their own country.

Many white South Africans argued, when faced with sanctions from the UN or other external pressure, that the South African government had the right of self-determination to create its own society as it saw fit. The clash between self-determination and human rights caused some white South Africans to abandon their support for apartheid.

Passive Resistance/*Satyagraha*: Civil disobedience characterized by non-violent non-cooperation. It is related to two other Indian words – "swaraj" (self-rule) and "swadeshi" (self-reliance). According to Gandhi, *satyagraha* meant "holding to the truth" and inspired believers to risk their lives without resorting even to violent words. Gandhi introduced the concept to African leaders, who then adopted it in their struggle against apartheid. Some thought of passive resistance as one of a number of tools to be used in the struggle; others believed *satyagraha* formed the core of the movement.

Human Rights: Equal and inalienable rights for all members of the human family. After the horrors of World War II, nations initiated efforts to develop international standards to protect people from individuals, groups, or nations. The apartheid system is now widely regarded as a violation of human rights. Today, there is debate at home and abroad about the nature and scope of human rights. Some believe that human rights exist to protect individuals' civil and political freedoms. Civil and political rights include the right to life, liberty and personal security, freedom from slavery, torture and arbitrary arrest, as well as the right to a fair trial, free speech, free movement, and privacy. Others have argued that there are economic, social, and cultural rights as well. These include economic rights related to work, fair pay, and leisure; social rights concerning an adequate standard of living for health, well-being and education; and the right to participate in the cultural life of the community. International consensus is growing that human rights should encompass the full spectrum covered by these viewpoints.

The British Commonwealth: A voluntary organization of Great Britain and many of her former colonies. The South African government voted to remove itself from the Commonwealth in 1961 rather than change its policies as requested by other members of the Commonwealth, particularly those who had recently become independent. In 1994 South Africa rejoined the Commonwealth.

Sanctions: Social, economic, and political actions taken by a government, the UN, or a non-governmental organization intended to prevent a country from continuing on its present path. Many sanctions take some sort of economic form, and often involve the prevention of goods from traveling in or out of the targeted country. Sanctions against South Africa included oil and arms embargoes, boycotts of South African artists, and banning from Olympic competition.

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Making Choices Work in Your Classroom

This section of the Teacher's Resource Book offers suggestions for teachers as they adapt Choices curricula to their classrooms. They are drawn from the experiences of teachers who have used Choices curricula successfully in their classrooms and from educational research on student-centered instruction.

Managing the Choices Simulation

Recognize Time Limitations: At the heart of the Choices approach is the role-play simulation in which students advocate different options, question each other, and debate. Just as thoughtful preparation is necessary to set the stage for cooperative group learning, careful planning for the presentations and debate can increase the effectiveness of the simulation. Time is the essential ingredient to keep in mind. A minimum of 45 to 50 minutes is necessary for the presentations and debate. Hence, if only one class period is available, student groups must be ready as soon as class begins. Teachers who have been able to schedule a double period or extend the length of class to one hour report that the extra time is beneficial. When necessary, the role-play simulation can be run over two days, but this disrupts the momentum of the debate. The best strategy for managing the role-play is to establish and enforce strict time limits, such as five minutes for each option presentation, ten minutes for questions and challenges, and the final five minutes of class for wrapping up the debate. It is crucial to make students aware of strict time limits as they prepare their presentations.

Highlight the Importance of Values: During the debate and debriefing, it is important to highlight the role of values in the options. Students should be instructed to identify the core values and priorities underlying the different options. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet is designed to help students incorporate the values into their group presentations. You may also find the supplemental activity, *Considering the Role of Values in Public Policy*, available from the "Faculty Room" on the Choices web site <www.choices.edu> helpful.

Moving Beyond the Options

As a culminating activity of a Choices unit, students are expected to articulate their own views of the issue under consideration. An effective way to move beyond the options debate to creating individual options is to have students consider which values in the options framework they hold most dear. Typically, students will hold several of these values simultaneously and will need to prioritize them to reach a considered judgment about the issue at hand. These values should be reflected in their own options and should shape the goals and policies they advocate.

Adjusting for Large and Small Classes

Choices units are designed for an average class of twenty-five students. In larger classes, additional roles, such as those of newspaper reporter or member of a special interest group, can be assigned to increase student participation in the simulation. With larger option groups, additional tasks might be to create a poster, political cartoon, or public service announcement that represents the viewpoint of an option. In smaller classes, the teacher can serve as the moderator of the debate, and administrators, parents, or faculty can be invited to play the roles of congressional leaders. Another option is to combine two small classes.

Assessing Student Achievement

Grading Group Assignments: Research suggests that it is counterproductive to give students individual grades on cooperative group assignments. A significant part of the assignment given to the group is to cooperate in achieving a common goal, as opposed to looking out for individual interests. Telling students in advance that the group will receive one grade often motivates group members to hold each other accountable. This can foster group cohesion and lead to better group results. It may be useful to note that in addition to the cooperative group assignments, students complete individual assignments as well in every Choices unit. The "Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations" on the following page is designed to help teachers evaluate group presentations.

Requiring Self-Evaluation: Having students complete self-evaluations is an extremely effective way to make them think about their own learning. Self-evaluations can take many forms and are useful in a variety of circumstances. They are particularly helpful in getting students to think constructively about group collaboration. In developing a self-evaluation tool for students, teachers need to pose clear and direct questions to students. Two key benefits of student self-evaluation are that it involves students in the assessment process, and that it provides teachers with valuable insights into the contributions of individual students and the dynamics of different groups. These insights can help teachers to organize groups for future cooperative assignments.

Evaluating Student Options: The most important outcomes of a Choices unit are the original options developed and articulated by each student. These will differ significantly from one another, as students identify different values and priorities that shape their viewpoints. These options cannot be graded as right or wrong, but should be evaluated on clarity of expression, logic, and thoroughness. Did the student provide reasons for his/her viewpoint along with supporting evidence? Were the values clear and consistent throughout the option? Did the student identify the risks involved? Did the student present his/her option in a convincing manner?

Testing: In a formal evaluation of the Choices approach, it was demonstrated that students using Choices learned the factual information presented as well as or better than students who were taught in a more traditional lecture-discussion format. However, the larger benefits of the Choices approach were evident when students using Choices demonstrated significantly higher ability to think critically, analyze multiple perspectives, and articulate original viewpoints, compared to students who did not use this approach. Teachers should hold students accountable for learning historical information, concepts, and current events presented in Choices units. However, a simple multiple-choice examination will not allow students to demonstrate the critical thinking and communication skills developed through the Choices unit. If teachers choose to test students, they may wish to explore new models of test design that require students to do more than recognize correct answers. Tests should not replace the development of student options.

For Further Reading: Cohen, Elizabeth G. *Designing Groupwork: Strategies for the Heterogeneous Classroom* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1986).

Name:

Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations

Group assignment:

Group members:

Group Assessment	*Excellent*	*Good*	*Average*	*Needs Improvement*	*Unsatisfactory*
1. The group made good use of its preparation time	5	4	3	2	1
2. The presentation reflected analysis of the issues under consideration	5	4	3	2	1
3. The presentation was coherent and persuasive	5	4	3	2	1
4. The group incorporated relevant sections of the background reading into its presentation	5	4	3	2	1
5. The group's presenters spoke clearly, maintained eye contact, and made an effort to hold the attention of their audience	5	4	3	2	1
6. The presentation incorporated contributions from all the members of the group	5	4	3	2	1
Individual Assessment					
1. The student cooperated with other group members	5	4	3	2	1
2. The student was well-prepared to meet his or her responsibilities	5	4	3	2	1
3. The student made a significant contribution to the group's presentation	5	4	3	2	1

Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan

Day 1: ______________ See Day Two of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan. (Students should have read Part II of the background reading and completed "Study Guide—Part II" before beginning the unit.)
Homework: Students should read "June 1961: The Moment of Decision."

Day 2: ______________ Assign each student one of the three positions, and allow students a few minutes to familiarize themselves with the mindsets of the positions. Call on students to evaluate the benefits and trade-offs of their assigned positions. How do the positions differ? What are their assumptions about the future? How do they view the advantages and disadvantages of nonviolence? Moving beyond their assigned positions, students should imagine that they are involved in a meeting of township residents convened in June, 1961 to assess the future of South Africa. What position would they argue for? What factors would most influence their position? What values would have the greatest appeal?
Homework: Students should read "Epilogue—Becoming South Africa" and complete "Study Guide—Epilogue."

Day 3: ______________ See Day Five of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan.

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Freedom in Our Lifetime: South Africa's Struggle

Freedom in Our Lifetime: South Africa's Struggle introduces students to precolonial and colonial South Africa and the development of apartheid. Students have the opportunity to evaluate decisions made by anti-apartheid activists and to reflect on South Africa's transition to a post-apartheid society.

Freedom in Our Lifetime: South Africa's Struggle is part of a continuing series on current and historical international issues published by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Program at Brown University. Choices materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

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